

Mr Reagan to seek £19,000m cuts in public spending

President Reagan is to demand the most drastic cuts in public spending made by any United States administration in recent years. Total reductions for the 1982 fiscal year are likely to

amount to more than £19,000m and will affect every government department except defence. Mr Reagan also wants to change the basic role of government in many areas of public expenditure.

Role of government may change

By Frank Vogel

Washington, Feb 15

The most drastic cuts in public spending offered by any United States administration in recent years will be proposed by President Reagan on Wednesday night when he addresses a joint session of Congress. The cuts spare no government department or agency except defence.

The President is not only cutting public spending to help the fight against inflation, he is also outlining dramatic, very different approaches to government and to the role of government in America. Many of the planned cuts are outlined in detail in a thick briefing book prepared for the President by the Office of Management and Budget and a copy of this has been obtained by The Times.

The cuts are presented alongside President Carter's budget proposals, with full explanations for the arguments for the cuts and with a brief analysis in each case of the likely political problems of winning congressional approval for the cuts. The briefing book is one of the documents that President Reagan has used in making his decisions and it covers more than £26,000m (£11,000m) in spending reductions. Total spending cuts for the 1982 fiscal year, which starts on October 1, are likely to amount to over £45,000m (£19,000m).

The Budget Office repeatedly stated in its briefing book that it is not cutting out of welfare programmes and that cuts here will make for better management. It also stated that it is equitable that cuts should be made everywhere.

Cross-the-board cuts are proposed, for example, in child care programmes. One proposal is to "eliminate subsidies for snacks served in day care and summer meal programmes" in day care centres. Another proposal is to "reduce the base meal subsidy from an estimated 19.2¢ per meal to nine cents in fiscal year 1982 and freeze it at nine cents in fiscal year 1983, and \$550m in 1983 and more in later years."

Sharp cuts in medical care programmes are to be made in the next year of over \$10,000m. An approach is simply to use to pay any increases in costs over a set "cap" of 5¢ per cent. To soften opposition to this, the Budget Office said it would be best to present this as an interim measure pending "further reforms".

Large savings are planned in employment assistance pro-

grammes. Very few people will be able to obtain benefits for more than 26 weeks, so bringing estimated pay-outs on such extended benefits for the coming fiscal year down to \$1,406m from \$3,568m. Compensation to workers who specifically lost their jobs due to import competition will be bluntly reduced to a spending level of just \$350m, from an estimated total of \$1,500m.

Many school leavers and teenagers win temporary employment under special public works programmes that the Budget Office now plans to cut by close on 40 per cent to save \$3,700m. It accepts that bitter criticism will come from local authorities as the cuts clearly will diminish services.

Cuts of 50 per cent are planned for the national endowments of the arts and the humanities and new long-term funding proposals are made so that spending on each of these is limited to no more than \$100m a year.

The Budget Office argued that private charities can do better the funding in these areas. It made the same argument in proposing large cuts in funding for public broadcasting.

The Budget Office warned, however, that heavy lobbying against these cuts will come as cultural institutions "maintain

strong ties to business and corporations" through honorary appointments on boards of directors.

The new Administration takes the view that soft loans to many public agencies are not necessary and that these agencies can go directly to the market for their cash. As a result the Budget Office proposed cuts running into thousands of millions of dollars for the next four years in funding for farm credit programmes, rural electrification and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The briefing book also includes dozens of separate public services that the Administration wants to cut. Mass transit, airport construction, railway and road building programmes are all to be victims of the new Administration's axe.

The new Administration's philosophy is illustrated by its approach to subsidies for the Post Office, which are set for very substantial cuts. The Budget Office stated: "The Administration is committed to shifting the costs of services to the users who benefit from the service wherever possible. The reduction in this general subsidy should lead to a more efficient utilization of the mail system."

In addition, reduced subsidisation should encourage the postal service to initiate management changes to reduce costs. The possible reduction of service to five-day delivery is a symbol of the seriousness of the fiscal austerity being imposed by reductions throughout the federal Government.

"The policy we are going to have, and must fight to have, in this country is in fact going to be a mixture of market forces and the responsibility of the Government and the question at issue is whether you get that mixture right and then pursue it consistently."

One of the main issues was election reform. A sensible system of proportional representation, he said.

Mr Jenkins said that whether he got back into the House of Commons depended on the election. "I must fight for election but it remains to be seen where and exactly when."

Mr Thatcher's attack was delivered at the Young Conservatives' conference in Eastbourne where Lord Thorneycroft, the party chairman, yesterday gave warning of a "very rough time politically" and of electoral casualties.

Mr Jenkins hits back after attacks on centre

By Michael Hatfield

Political Reporter

Mr Roy Jenkins, one of the so-called gang of four, yesterday delivered a strong reply to the attacks launched upon the proposed social democratic party by Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Mr Michael Foot at the weekend.

The Prime Minister accused the supporters of the Council for Social Democracy of being "criminally" and "slow-motion" socialists. The Labour Party leader was scornful about the potential of a new party, and said it would have little effect on British politics.

Mr Jenkins in reply said they were both disturbed by what was happening and that they believed a new party would "have a major impact on the shape of politics".

Interviewed on BBC Radio's The World This Weekend programme, Mr Jenkins said: "They both agree in liking both the sterile framework of 'adversarial' politics in which each side blames the other for all the ills of the country, which becomes an excuse for not having to do too much about them."

He continued: "I note particularly that Mrs Thatcher also seemed to be operating on the basis that her policies had been a great success so far which does not seem to me to have much foundation in fact. If you look at the state of British industry at the present time and the state of the British economy generally."

Mr Jenkins said he felt Mrs Thatcher and Mr Foot were confused because they saw the approach of a new party as a "challenge to the old politics and they both have a tremendous investment in the old politics."

"They are... afraid, and rightly afraid, that many people in this country are fed up with old politics and want to see something which does not go in for this mutual slanging match but can give the country some sort of consistent, sensible policy which can make a real effort in the 80s which is desperately needed."

Questioned about policies against the alliance with the Liberals, Mr Jenkins said some Liberal proposals needed "fleshing out" but on the broad thrust of modern Liberal policies there was a substantial measure of agreement.

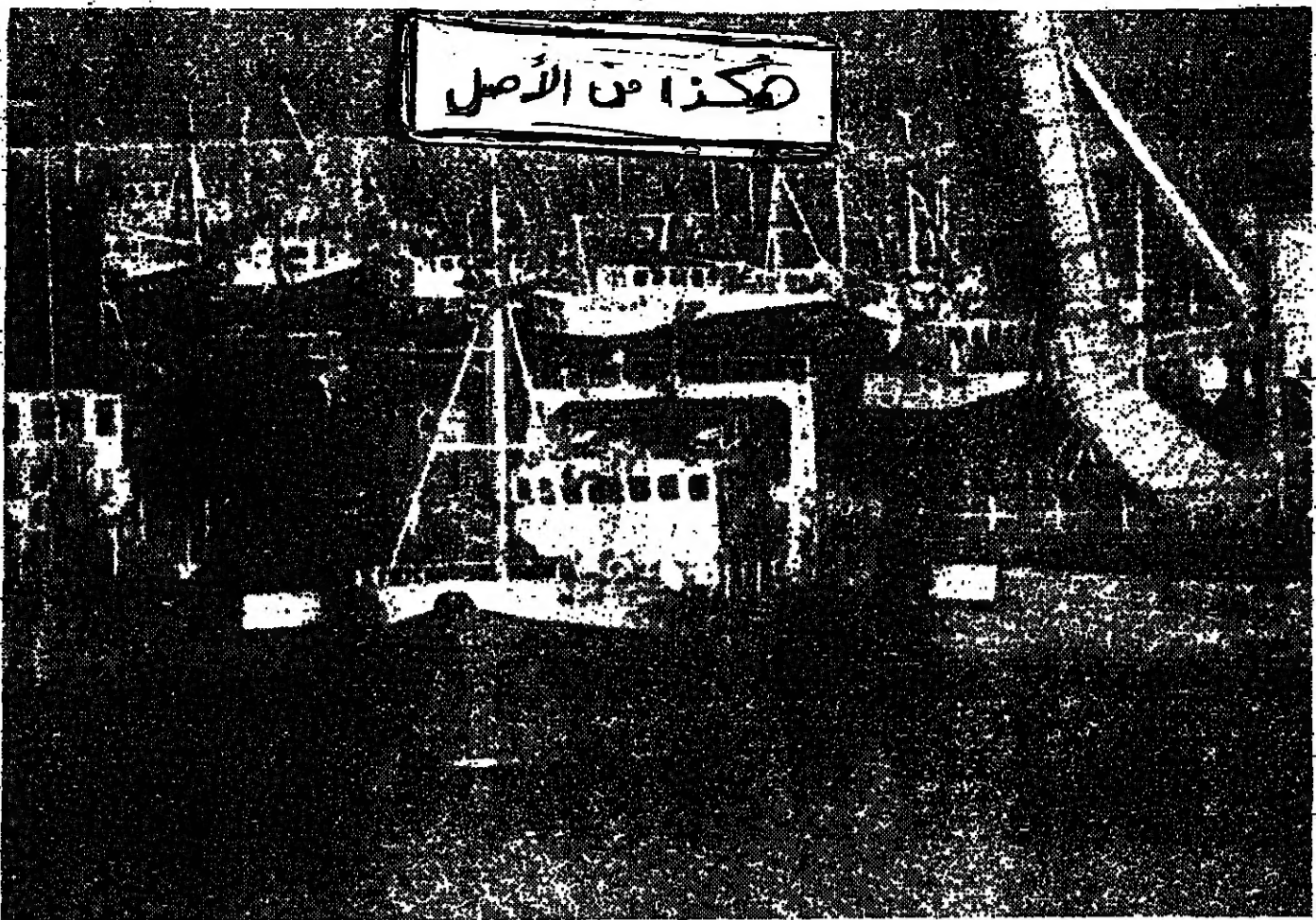
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Continued on page 2, col 7



The Scottish fishing boat Glenugie blockading the port at Peterhead, where 170 boats were trapped yesterday as fishermen protested against cheap imports. Report, page 3.

Miners begin strike at threatened colliery

By Paul Routledge

Labour Editor

Industrial action by the miners against National Coal Board colliery closure plans began over the weekend and is expected to accelerate rapidly today when the South Wales pitmen meet.

Miners at the Coednam pit, near Meesteg, mid-Glamorgan, have gone on strike against board plans to shut their 91-year-old colliery, and under pressure of similar militancy at other mines, area leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers have brought forward their decision-making delegate conference to this morning.

The Welsh miners seem ready to go on strike immediately, without waiting for the outcome of talks due to be held on the future of this industry between union leaders and Mr David Howell, Secretary of State for Energy. The miners' executive is to recommend official national strike action if the Cabinet does not provide large state subsidies and ban coal imports.

In the traditionally militant coalfield of Kent, some 2,800 miners started a ban on overtime at 6 am today, and local officials are refusing to take part in any further discussions on proposals to close Snowdown, near Deal, one of the area's three pits.

As in other hard-line areas, there was pressure in Kent for an immediate strike, but left-wing miners appear to be aiming at holding back the spontaneous reaction of the men in order to meet the largest possible majority for a national strike when the union's executive meets in emergency session on Thursday.

Failing satisfactory guarantees on coal imports and operat-

ing subsidies of the kind paid to other EEC producers, the executive is committed to seeking authority in a secret ballot for the industry's first all-out stoppage since the 1974 strike that helped bring about the downfall of the last Tory Government.

The board is going ahead with its series of coalfield conferences telling the men what future they have. Last Friday, the board announced the closure of 10 pits with a loss of 5,600 jobs in South Wales, Kent and Durham.

Today, it is the turn of union leaders in Lancashire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, North Wales, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire. Some of those coalfields expect to escape the job cuts, but a number of pits fit the Board's category of economically non-viable or beset by geological problems.

Reaction against the closure programme is building up even in normally moderate coalfields. Union area officials in Durham, where four pits are to close, have said they will support a strike if the board attempts to "push through the shut down of Bearpark, Sacriston, Boldon and Eughton collieries, with a loss of 1,952 jobs."

But the Government is not expected to give the miners what they want. Instead Whitehall officials are working on a scheme for improved cash incentives for men to leave the industry altogether or "shift their place of work to 'short-life' mines. Alternative work is available for many of the men due to be displaced by the closure of between 20 and 50 pits at a cost of up to 30,000 jobs, but thousands would be made compulsorily redundant."

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Bulawayo deadlock as Zipra men keep guns

From Stephen Taylor

Salisbury, Feb 15

Attempts to transport former Zipra and Zania Zimbabwe guerrillas from Bulawayo's strife-torn township of Entumbane were held up today after drivers refused to move the men until they had been disarmed.

At least some of the Zipra men, followers of Mr Joshua Nkomo, have agreed to the move, although others remain outside their camp. It is understood that those who have agreed to go have said that they will give up their weapons when they reach a temporary camp about 20 miles from Bulawayo, but not before.

Former Zania guerrillas in Entumbane, who came under fire from Zipra positions when fighting broke out in the township on Wednesday night, are reported to have given up their weapons and been moved to a camp 20 miles on the other side of the city.

The township remained quiet over the weekend although police stations in two neighbouring townships came under fire from small arms yesterday afternoon. Three men were killed in realistic firing.

The final death toll from six days of clashes last week involving integrated national Army battalions and former guerrillas is expected to be high. [The national radio said today that there had been more than 300 deaths and at least 400 injured, UPI reports.]

Most of the casualties were in Entumbane and around Commemora barracks. Most of the dissidents at Commemora finally laid down their weapons yesterday after a show of strength by the air force and armoured vehicles.

The main issue still hanging

over Entumbane is whether the Zipra men can be persuaded to give up their weapons before they are moved, as has been ordered.

Mr Nkomo, leader of the Patriotic Front Party who is nominally in charge of Zipra, was quoted in today's Sunday Mail as saying in response to a question whether the Zipra men had been asked to surrender their arms: "You ask them. I won't."

Blow to Mr Nkomo: Apart from the dead and the wounded, the principal casualty from last week's factional violence appears to be the political reputation of Mr Nkomo (Nicholas Ashford writes from Salisbury).

With only 20 out of the 100 parliamentary seats under his control, Mr Nkomo's main source of power has been the existence of what was believed to be a well-disciplined, well-armed guerrilla force. However, the events of the last few days have not only shown that Zipra was less formidable a force than was generally supposed but also that elements within it were in rebellion against their leaders.

There were growing indications that many of the Zipra rebels were not only opposed to Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister, and his Zania supporters, but that an increasing number of them rejected Mr Nkomo's leadership as well.

An incident which illuminates Mr Nkomo's failing control over elements of his Zania Army took place yesterday when a journalist went to interview him at his Bulawayo home. As the journalist entered the room where Mr Nkomo was working, the Patriotic Front leader was heard to yell at the telephone: "Nobody has control over these men."

Leading article, page 13

Spaniards riot after bell death

By Richard Wigg

Madrid, Feb 15

Disturbances continued today in the Basque country with rioting being reported in the streets of Bilbao 48 hours after the death of a young man following the police's intervention in the Basque country town of San Ignazio Arregui, aged 30, ETA guerrilla suspect.

A general strike in protest at the persistence of the brutal methods by some Basque policemen as well as the Basque country town of San Ignazio Arregui, aged 30, ETA guerrilla suspect.

The green, red and white Basque flag flew at half mast on the town hall there today; clear indication of how Basque sentiment, outraged by the killing of a Basque nuclear engineer only a week ago by ETA-alarmed terrorists, has now swung back again against the authorities.

Senior Tomas Agrela, the police commissioner in charge of the Madrid region information squad which specialised in combating ETA terrorism, and Pérez Pachón, chief of the Basque country town of San Ignazio Arregui, aged 30, ETA guerrilla suspect.

The police inspectors who have been investigating the conduct of the Basque country town of San Ignazio Arregui, aged 30, ETA guerrilla suspect.

Until now the five interrogations have not been arrested, they conducted the interrogations in calls of the security police headquarters on one side of Madrid's Puerta del Sol, the equivalent of Piccadilly Circus.

The prosecutor general's office said the post-mortem examination revealed injuries to the Basque country town of San Ignazio Arregui, aged 30, ETA guerrilla suspect.

Continued on page 4, col 3

Mr Prior jeered by young Tories

By James Prior

Secretary of State for Employment

Mr James Prior, Secretary of State for Employment, yesterday faced a barrage of barracking and shouts of "resign" over the closed shop issue when he spoke to young Conservatives at Eastbourne.

Mr Prior was interrupted as he discussed young people who lost their jobs by a shout of "Like Joanna Harris". She is the poultry inspector dismissed last week by Sandwell District Council, in the West Midlands, for refusing to join a union.

Mr Prior replied to the interruption: "It is a scandal that people should lose their jobs as a result of an employer, particularly a local authority, taking the action they are taking."

He went on, to loud barracking: "There is no way and there never has been a way at

the end of the day in which you can force an employer to take back or to employ someone they do not wish to employ.

"All you can do in these circumstances is first, to see that the person who loses their job is properly compensated, and secondly, to see that the employer who takes this sort of action under the law as it is now, also loses through damages and compensation."

"What you all have to understand is that there are some things you can do in industrial relations by law and there are some things you cannot do."

"However strongly one might feel, it is not the job of a Conservative Government or of the Conservative Party to try to put through legislation that it cannot enforce. Nothing will bring Parliament into greater disrepute than to pass laws that it

knows in advance it cannot enforce."

Mr Prior faced calls of "resign" as he went on: "I am not going to be party to that sort of operation in the cynical belief that we are doing our duty when we know perfectly well we cannot."

Mr Prior recalled the 1971 Industrial Relations Act of the Heath Government and said: "The law was not capable of being enforced then any more than it is now."

He also attacked newspapers, singling out The Daily Telegraph, for advising him to take a stronger stand on the closed shop issue.

How many people working on the printing side in Fleet Street are not members of a union. If newspapers practise a little of what they preach to me, I will listen a little bit more carefully."

Labour demand for end to rating system

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

The replacement of the rating system by corporation tax for industry and commerce and by local income tax for other ratepayers was urged by Mr Gerald Kaufman, Opposition spokesman on the environment. He told a Labour Party conference in Blackpool that it was an irrational and highly resented form of taxation.

Australia rejects Pol Pot regime

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

The Australian Government has withdrawn its recognition of the deposed Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea after steady public pressure. Coupled with hostility towards the regime from other parts of the world, Australia's action could be the "last straw" for most of the Pol Pot leaders, according to Western diplomats.

Moderate to fight for AUEW post

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' right-wing faction selected Mr Gavin Laird, a moderate, as its candidate to succeed Sir John Boyd as general secretary. He faces two other contenders.

Fares freeze planned

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Labour authorities in London and six other main city areas in England are planning a policy of cutting or freezing public transport fares.

Open government

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Whitehall is studying the possibility of extending the Thatcher Administration's open government policy. If approved, ministries will have to produce details for inquirers of papers that become available under the directive on openness.

Arson most likely cause of club fire

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Arson has emerged as the most likely cause of the Dublin club fire in which 48 young people died. Allegations have been made that fire prevention in the republic has been neglected, and the inquiry into the disaster will be headed by a judge.

Lonrho may limit bid

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Lonrho, which is bidding £158m for House of Fraser, may invoke a rarely used part of the Takeover Code giving Fraser shareholders only 21 days to accept the 15p share bid.

Classified advertisements

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Classified advertisements: Appointments, pages 5, 16, 22; Personal, 22, 24; Property, 21, 22; Retirees Services Directory, 10.

Leader page 13

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Letters: On the use of troops, from Mr Stephen Hall-Jones and Mr Bruce Harris; Labour Party, from Mr Neville Sandelton, MP; The Times, from Lord Chorley and others.

Leading articles

By Gerald Kaufman

Opposition spokesman on the environment

Business features: Margaret Carter on difficulties some smaller American companies are having with computers; David Blake on government borrowing; R. W. Shakespear on a business promotion projects in Warrat.

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HOME NEWS

Whitehall studying extension of Thatcher Administration's policy towards open government

By Peter Hennessy

The Civil Service Department is working on the possibility of extending the Thatcher Administration's open government policy. If the plan is approved, ministries would be obliged to produce to public inquirers details of papers that had become available under the Croham directive. Whitehall's standing instruction on openness.

When promulgated in 1977, the directive required departments to keep records of material released but the obligation was removed as an economy measure by Mrs Margaret Thatcher shortly after taking office. Since May, 1979, it has been impossible to monitor the effectiveness of the Conservative Cabinet's open government commitment. Nor can members of the public discover what they are able to see if only they asked.

In a letter to Mr Christopher Price, Labour MP for Lewisham, West, and chairman of the Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, who has pressed the Government to extend the production of lists, Mr Bernard Rayhoe, Minister of State at the Civil Service Department, points out that the firm of Chadwyck-Healey will be publishing from April a *Catalogue of British Official Publications*.

not published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

He goes on: "Where there is no list in a form suitable for issuing to enquirers as it stands, departments are considering whether it will be possible to make the information available in one form or another."

In the aftermath of the killing of Mr Frank Hooley by the Government's "payroll vote", Mr Price intends to support the campaign for greater openness by pressing Mr Rayhoe, after a suitable interval, to tell the Commons what he has done to follow up his letter.

Mr Rayhoe will also face questions from MPs about his remarks on the subject of government information and individual privacy delivered in the course of the debate on the Hooley Bill.

He said: "I have a great deal of sympathy with those who argue that the individual should have the right to see personal information (in an official file) and correct it if it is wrong. The growing use of computers, among other systems of recording information, has increased public concern."

Mr Robin Cook, Labour MP for Edinburgh Central, and an opposition spokesman on Treasury affairs, is considering introducing a Bill under the 10-minute rule to test the Government's attitude to privacy. The Bill would permit an individual to see and check his or her files held by government departments, with the exception of those dealing with security or law enforcement.

Apart from the initiatives of Mr Price on the Croham directive and Mr Cook on privacy, the parliamentary end of the freedom of information lobby in Britain now seems to recognize the impossibility of forcing a Bill through the House in the lifetime of the Conservative Government, and will shift its emphasis to achieving greater access to information through the medium of the new departmental Commons select committees.

Another tactic that has found favour with the campaigners is the tacking on of disclosure clauses to government Bills passing through Parliament. The model for it is schedule 5 of the Industry Act, 1975, which, thanks to an amendment proposed by Dr Jeremy Bray, Labour MP for Manchester, West, obliges the measure's committee stage, obliges the Treasury to publish some of its economic forecasts and gives the public access to its computer model of the British economy.

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Probation officers split over left's role

By Peter Evans

Home Affairs Correspondent

The resignation from the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO) of a former chairman, Mr Kenneth Howe, and others brings to a head a growing controversy about left-wing influence on its membership.

Mr Howe, who is chairman of a new organization, the National Association of Senior Probation Officers, said in his letter of resignation last week that damage to NAPO had been done by a "political pressure group by activists."

At the first annual general meeting of the new body at Malvern on Saturday a motion asserting its independence was carried by an overwhelming majority. While some seniors had followed Mr Howe's example, others belonging to the new body prefer to work within NAPO for change. Many believe it has been turned into a political pressure group by activists.

Mr Howe has cited its stance on the Grunwick issue and the support among members for legalising cannabis as examples of the way "political" preferences had taken precedence over "professional responsibility."

Senior probation officers in the new association include those who believe a "little bit of discipline" is no bad thing in the criminal justice system. One reason for the split is the increased numbers of young officers recruited to expand the service after training that traditionalists think emphasizes social work and has undermined the old-style virtues of probation duties.

Deputy and assistant chief probation officers have formed an association to seek their own way of negotiating rights. The senior officers and assistant chiefs are middle managers of the service. Most NAPO members are main (or basic) grade officers.

EXIT votes to publish booklet on euthanasia

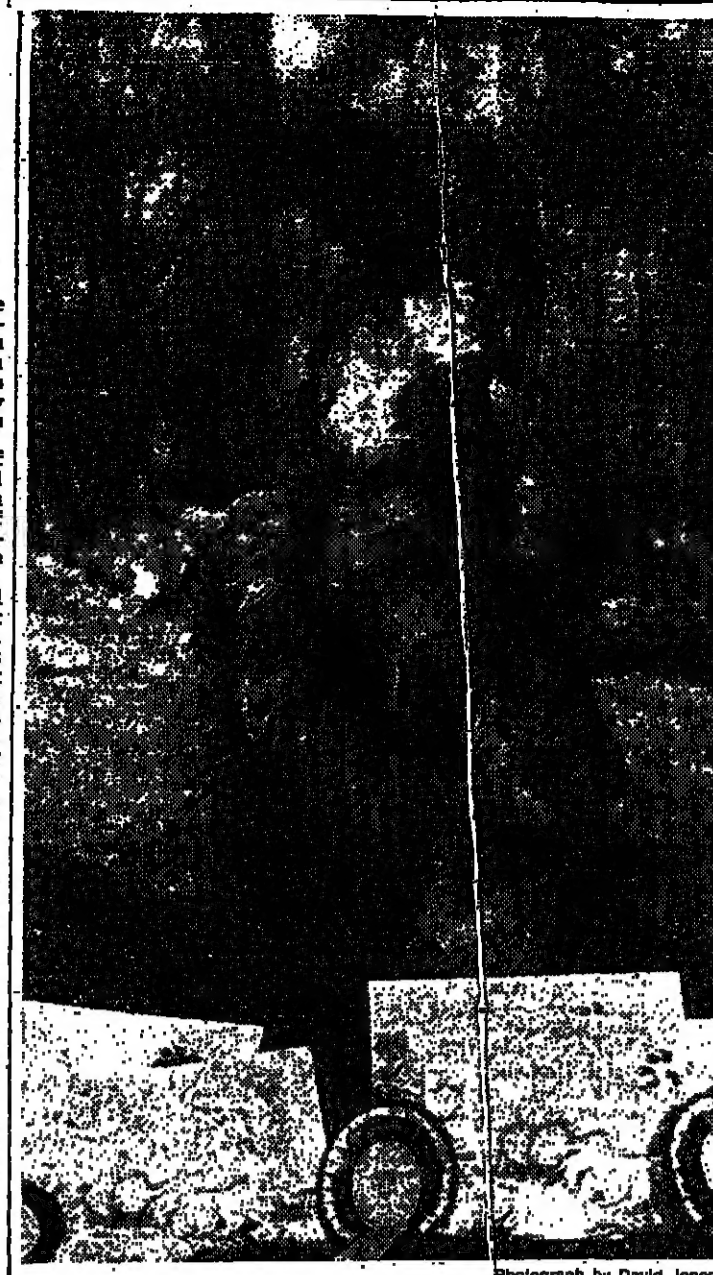
Members of EXIT, the Voluntary Euthanasia Society, voted

by 306 to eight on Saturday to go ahead with plans to publish a booklet on methods of mercy killing.

Mr Nicholas Reed, general secretary, said after a meeting in London: "I am delighted that the membership has given the committee this overwhelming majority of support. He intends to go ahead with plans to make the booklet, *A Guide to Self-Deliverance*, available to EXIT members in England."

An injunction application on the booklet was taken out by Dr David Smith, MP for the EXIT who disagreed with its contents. Mr Reed plans to have the application halted, claiming that there is nothing in English law to prevent publication of the booklet which outlines five methods of killing.

Mr Reed said: "The booklet has been available for six months in Scotland and no mass outbreak of suicide has taken place there."



Astley's Portia of Rua, an Irish Red Setter, winner of Crufts' best in show on Saturday.

Lack of phones in Wales may put off investors

From Tim Jones

Cardiff

A lack of private telephones may deter industrialists from establishing factories in Wales, the Post Office Users' Council has alleged.

The council is particularly concerned because Wales appears to have been excluded deliberately from guidelines laid down by Sir William Barlow, the chairman of the Post Office, 18 months ago. In a confidential memorandum he said the new policy for the United Kingdom was to cease compulsory sharing of lines as a means of providing services "forthwith."

But the council was informed privately that the principle and the North-East of England had been exempted from the national directive until December, 1980.

In making that declaration, described by some council members as "deliberate discrimination," the board was careful not to mention the fact that it feared a flood of complaints from existing subscribers who have applied unsuccessfully to be taken off a shared line.

When they met last month the council members said they

were dismayed to learn that British Telecommunications was unable to fulfil its promise to cease all compulsory sharing by the end of 1980.

Council members were angered further when told by Mr K. E. Spurlock, chairman of the Telecommunications Board for Wales and the March that the existing policy was to be extended until March, 1982. Mr Spurlock added that he was only optimistic that line-sharing could be ended by then and could give no guarantee.

Mr Robert Richards, secretary of the council, said: "We seem to be in a rather coming into line with the rest of the country. The areas of greatest difficulty in providing telephones seem unfortunately to coincide with prime sites which could interest potential investors. One of our concerns is that if they cannot even get a private telephone to themselves in their houses, they will be deterred from coming to the area."

The board said the difficulty had been caused by under-investment as they had not expected some years ago the huge increase in demand for telephones in the Principality.

Arson seen as likeliest cause of Dublin fire

From David Nicholson Lord

Dublin

Arson has emerged as the likeliest cause of the fire at the Stardust club, in the Dublin suburb of Ardara, early on Saturday, in which 48 young people died, although officially the police are keeping an open mind.

After an emergency meeting of the Irish Cabinet yesterday, Mr Charles Haughey, the Prime Minister, announced that the criminal to look into the disaster would be headed by a High Court judge.

A motion to set up an inquiry, which would be empowered to make wide-ranging recommendations, will be introduced in the Dail on Wednesday. The Government has also told local fire authorities to make an urgent review of procedures, and will have an early meeting with the recently established Fire Prevention Council.

The moves follow criticisms that fire prevention work in the republic continues to be seriously neglected despite the controversy over the fire at the Central Hotel, Bandon, in Donegal, last summer when ten people died.

Distraught families remained outside mortuaries in the city yesterday for news of their relatives. Bodies were badly burnt, but by last night about a third of the 48 had been identified. More than 100 people are in hospital and at least a dozen are seriously ill.

Many sports fixtures were cancelled yesterday as well as the annual conference of the ruling Fianna Fail party, for which more than 6,000 delegates had arrived in Dublin. Tomorrow will be a day of national mourning. Schools and public buildings will be closed.

The interior of the club was a burnt out tangle of metal as the police continued their examination. A special force of 90 detectives has been assigned to interview the 770 young people who were watching the winning couple in a disco dance.

ing competition at 1.30am when the fire was spotted.

Miss Elizabeth Marley, aged 19, the waitress who raised the alarm, said yesterday that she saw two chairs alight in an area of 18 rows of cinema-style seats which was not in use and curtains off by fire screens installed only a few weeks ago.

"I told the barman and the bouncers and between 12 and 15 of them rushed to the fire and tried to put it out with fire extinguishers. One of them opened a fire prevention screen and the flames just leapt out across the ceiling."

Although sick jockeys told people not to panic, within four minutes visibility was nil because of thick black smoke of a plastic-based material, melted and dripped on to people below. Then the lights went out.

In the panic teenagers fell and trampled on each other and smashed steel-framed windows to get out. Many apparently made for the main entrance rather than safety exits, and some attempts were made by people coming in from outside searching for friends.

Reports that the safety doors were locked, backed yesterday by Dr Noel Browne, a member of the Irish Parliament, have been denied by club staff. Police were last night interviewing a girl who was reported to have seen youths setting fire to the seats with matches minutes before the fire started. Mrs Teresa Marley, the barmaid, said she saw one of the curtains on fire.

The disaster has led to strong criticisms of fire precautions from the Fire Prevention Council and the Fire Officers' Association.

Among criticisms are that building regulations similar to those operating in Britain and governing factors such as the flammability of materials have remained in draft form since being proposed five years ago. Most fire authorities, according to the association, do not have a fire prevention officer and some are also without chief fire officers at present because of a dispute over their terms of employment.

March cancelled: A Republican Black march in Belfast was called off yesterday as a mark of respect for the people who died in the fire (the Press Association reports).

'I lay still after six shots hit me', Mrs McAliskey says

Mrs Bernadette McAliskey described yesterday how she survived an attack by a gunman who shot her repeatedly as she lay still on the bedroom floor of her isolated cottage in January.

"I lay absolutely still and quiet. I remember concentrating on keeping breathing," the former Westminster MP said. "If I could keep breathing I still would be living."

Mrs McAliskey and her husband Michael were severely injured in the attack. She said she was lying on her back, "whopping and screaming like Red Indians in a cowboy film" used sledgehammers to smash down the door of their home near Coalisland, Co Tyrone.

Mrs McAliskey, who is still in hospital recovering from her wounds, said in a Dublin Sunday newspaper that she would return to the campaign to gain political status for the men in the Maze prison.

Describing the attack, she said that the raiders smashed in the door and her husband

was shot and wounded. He shouted to her to hide under her bed.

"By this time I was out of the bed and was about to rush from the room when I remembered that Pinta (her two-year-old son) was still in the house."

"I turned back to lift him and as I did I became aware of a man coming to the bedroom doorway. He fired almost immediately. The bullet went right through me, in my back and exiting from my chest. I fell forward on to the floor."

She hit the floor face down and still conscious. "I lay there for what seemed an awfully long time the man standing behind me. Then he fired again."

According to the report in northern editions of *The Sunday World*, other bullets hit Mrs McAliskey, one in the right arm near the elbow, a second in the left upper arm, a third in the left hip, and a fourth near the neck and the fifth in the right leg.

Immigration appeals system criticized

By Lucy Hodges

The immigration appeals system is criticized for not doing enough to protect the rights of the individual in a briefing paper published today by the Runnymede Trust.

The paper says there is clearly much wrong with the system of immigration appeals and that it fails to meet the standards of a fair and efficient system of law.

Because of that the making of representations to the Home Office by MPs is an important check on administrative discretion "and an essential complement to an appeals system which is quite unsatisfactory," it says. It recommends that an independent review of the appeals system be set up.

The Home Office is making its own internal inquiry into the system and the briefing paper clearly calculated to influence that. The trust is worried that the Government may try to reduce MPs' powers to intervene in immigration cases.

Mr Timothy Raison, minister of state at the Home Office, has said that MPs' involvement in these cases spins them out for months. Last year he said: "What is not reasonable in my view is for someone to claim further stop on action to remove (an immigrant) just because he dislikes my decision, then he cannot offer solid grounds for challenging it."

The briefing paper says there could be no need for MPs' representations if the appeal sys-

tem were fair and seen to be

so. Appeals against immigration matters go first to an immigration appeals adjudicator and from there to the Immigration Appeals Tribunal. Some cases go to the tribunal direct.

"There is a limited and qualified right of appeal in deportation cases which can often only be made from outside the United Kingdom. The chances of having an appeal upheld either by an adjudicator or by the tribunal are not high."

In 1979 the adjudicators upheld 13.1 per cent of appeals they heard while the tribunal allowed 14.8 per cent. Appeals to the tribunal made by the Home Office against adjudicators' decisions are significantly more successful than those made by immigrants.

The paper complains that the burden of proof in immigration appeals is placed on the person appealing. "It is for him or her to convince the appellate authority that the decision appealed against was wrong."

It criticizes the rules of procedure for giving adjudicators too much discretion in the conduct of hearings and it says it is wrong for the "written statement of facts" to be prepared by the Home Office, which is a party to the proceedings.

The Pivot of the System—a briefing paper on Immigration Appeals, (Runnymede Trust, 16-18 Stratton Ground, London SW1P 2HP; £1.50 and 25p postage).

Chancellor poll ends in acrimony

By a Staff Reporter

Polling in the election for Chancellor of London University, in which the candidates are Princess Anne, Mr Jack Jones and Mr Nelson Mandela, closed on a note of acrimony on Saturday.

The university convocation censured its standing committee for "unusually and unbefittingly" in summoning the meeting to elect the new chancellor.

Princess Anne is still regarded as favourite to win the election the result of which will be declared today or tomorrow. But convocation gave a clear indication by a second motion, also carried, that in future there should be a longer period for nominations.

The closing date for the nomination of chancellorship candidates is fixed at 42 days before the meeting at which the result is to be announced. The election was scheduled originally for February 3 and Princess Anne would then have been elected automatically had her candidature been unopposed.

The second motion said convocation, desiring to prevent repetition of the inconvenience consequent upon the over-short interval between the resignation of the last chancellor, the Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, last December and the closing of nominations for her successor, recommended a new standing order that a minimum period of three calendar months should elapse between the announcement of a chancellor's resignation or death and the closing of nominations for candidates.

EXIT votes to publish booklet on euthanasia

Members of EXIT, the Voluntary Euthanasia Society, voted

by 306 to eight on Saturday to go ahead with plans to publish a booklet on methods of mercy killing.

Mr Nicholas Reed, general secretary, said after a meeting in London: "I am delighted that the membership has given the committee this overwhelming majority of support. He intends to go ahead with plans to make the booklet, *A Guide to Self-Deliverance*, available to EXIT members in England."

An injunction application on the booklet was taken out by Dr David Smith, MP for the EXIT who disagreed with its contents. Mr Reed plans to have the application halted, claiming that there is nothing in English law to prevent publication of the booklet which outlines five methods of killing.

Mr Reed said: "The booklet has been available for six months in Scotland and no mass outbreak of suicide has taken place there."

Newcastle school beatings inquiry sought

Mr Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education, has been asked to send inspectors to four schools in Newcastle upon Tyne where beatings are alleged to have reached a high level.

The Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment (STOPP) says in a letter to Mr Carlisle that the schools are using corporal punishment in a way that is "used more than once a week."

"An inspection is necessary to investigate what appears to be an intensive and callous approach to young children, demonstrated by the frighteningly high level of corporal punishment."

The society claims that children of primary school age are seven times more likely to be beaten at school in Newcastle than in any other area in England.

Education authority statistics, it adds, show 91 cases of corporal punishment for Newcastle children aged 13 and under between September, 1979, and July last year, 729 of them in children aged between four and 11.

Two schools had admitted eating children for not doing well enough at school work. It was also claimed recently that Newcastle had the most beatings in secondary schools, after which the city council led to consult teachers about abolishing such punishment.

Mr Jack Chadderton, Newcastle's director of education, said: "STOPP is making broad generalizations on figures from the education department and we have no national or regional figures to compare areas." He refused to name the schools involved.

Mr John Shipley, the Liberal MP for the city council, said he agreed with the demands for an inquiry and he called for the schools to be identified.

The figures are very disturbing, he said. "It is not in the parental interest that a well-behaved child is being drawn over this."

10,000 statuette stolen

A fourteenth-century statuette of the Virgin Mary given to Harting parish church, West Sussex, by Lady Epstein, the wife of the sculptor, has been stolen. It is valued at £10,000.

From the grassroots: Government's image may cut party votes in May Dorset Tories facing strong Liberal challenge

By Ian Bradley

The Conservatives in west Dorset are formidably well organized. For example, all of the 62 village branches and five town branches in the constituency have been told what still they will be running at the annual fete at the end of July.

Over the weekend they were beginning to plan the detailed operation of coconut shies and tombolas.

Their electoral machinery is also being prepared for May's county council elections. For many years Conservatives have returned unopposed in several parts of the county. But this year they are expecting a strong challenge from the Liberals, who they complain are using dirty tactics in an effort to win votes.

Mr James Spicer, MP for Dorset West, told the annual meeting of the local branch of the Conservatives on Friday evening: "There is a school in Burton Bradstock with more than 60 pupils. There is no intention of closing it. Yet every house in the village has had a notice shoved through the door saying 'Your school is in danger'."

"And in a few weeks I expect to see Liberals taking the credit for saving it. With all the doubts about the Government's image and supported Mr Pym's call last week for a return to the centre ground."

Mrs Anne Chapman, vice-chairman of the association, said: "Our message is that we are not going to be taken in by the Tories. We lack the common touch. Mr Healey is much easier to understand than Sir Keith Joseph."

Mr Terence Farmer, former Liberal MP for the constituency, said: "I do not like too much rigidity and sticking to doctrinaire policies. The Government must show some flexibility. The Tory party is at its best when it maintains the centre ground of politics."

Although west Dorset lacks large-scale industry and has escaped mass unemployment, its many small industries have been badly affected by the strength of the pound and high interest rates.

Mr Spicer said that three

years ago the Newbridge Boat Company in Bridport was exporting three quarters of its output. Last year it exported nothing.

He told the meeting at Folke: "I think the Government has very little time left to help small firms. It must do something in the Budget to reduce the minimum lending rate and reduce the value of the pound."

Ultimately, however, matters of organization rather than national policy dominated the meeting. The two most hotly debated items on the branch's agenda were whether enough profit could be made on the milk bar which is running at the farm, and whether 500 Liberal voters should be given the right to vote in the constituency association to help Conservative Central Office.

It was eventually decided that the money should be paid but not before several members had reminded the meeting of Mrs Thatcher's injunctions about good housekeeping and always having something in the larder.

Miss Ford's solicitors said they were not concerned only with inaccuracy: because of the way the article was written they would object to it even if it was accurate. Its complete inaccuracy made it far worse. Miss Ford, they said, had previously suffered from trying to correct inaccurate articles about her, and her attitude was "once bitten, twice shy."

The Press Council's adjudication, announced yesterday, was: "At a very late stage of the campaign the newspaper acted on behalf of Miss Ford to introduce new grounds of complaint. In the council's view they had their opportunity to raise these grounds much earlier and the council ruled their late introduction inadmissible."

The Press Council does not agree that the article in effect accused Miss Ford of unprofessional conduct. The council rejects the complaint against the *News of the World*.

Mr Henry Douglas, legal manager, replied that the *News of the World* was told of the atmosphere by two of Miss Ford's colleagues, who reported moody, meaningful glances. The newspaper reported correctly what colleagues said of the couple's attitude to children, but accepted Miss Ford's assurance that what they said was wide of the mark. The newspaper was prepared to publish any reasonable amending material.

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Anna Ford complaint against Sunday paper is rejected by Press Council

A complaint by Anna Ford, the Independent Television

News presenter, that without getting in touch with those concerned the *News of the World* published a "calumnious" article in effect accusing her of unprofessional conduct, has been rejected by the Press Council.

The *News of the World* said that on ITN there was an awkward moment when Miss Ford had to mention her former boyfriend, Jon Snow, then reporting from Afghanistan. Their broken romance had created an atmosphere and later they would exchange moody, meaningful glances. Colleagues said the affair ended because Miss Ford wanted to marry and have children, while Mr Snow felt it was too early to shoulder the burdens of parenthood.

Through solicitors Miss Ford complained to the Press Council that the article contained not one word of truth and the

writer had not discussed it with her. It was untrue that there was an atmosphere, or that moody, meaningful glances were exchanged. Both were anxious to have children and the relationship ended for completely different reasons. The article suggested she behaved unprofessionally, being unable to separate her private and public lives.

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Scots fishermen continue port blockades

From Ronald Faux

Aberdeen

Fishermen were preparing to blockade the Alford market today to prevent freezer container lorries with imported fish from unloading. The fishermen, angry and dissatisfied with the Government's assurances about the flood of cheap imports, have blocked the entrance to the fish harbour with a line of vessels tied together with steel hawsers.

Privately-owned boats and company trawlers were prevented from putting to sea last night under protest and a further 170 boats were

HOME NEWS

Labour groups aiming to cut or freeze public transport fares

By Our Local Government Correspondent

Labour authorities in London and the six other main city areas in England are planning a concerted policy to cut or at least freeze public transport fares in order to reverse the continuing decline in the services.

Such a commitment will have to be paid for out of the rates but the seven councils have asked for a pledge from the party nationally that the next Labour government will increase transport subsidies to help them.

The Labour group on the Greater London Council is committed to a 25 per cent cut in fares if it wins the election in May, but the others are hoping to agree within the next fortnight to freeze fares, if not reduce them, as the main plank in their election platform.

The other Labour groups involved, which all face elections in May, are from West Midlands, Tyne and Wear, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, Greater Manchester and Merseyside.

After meeting Mr Albert Booth, opposition spokesman on transport, at the local government conference, they complained that Tory ministers had cut public expenditure and made it clear that if transport was to be kept running with less money, authorities must raise fares and cut services.

"The Labour Party rejects this approach. We will protect transport just as education, housing and other social services need to be protected."

"There is no point in allowing the public transport system to shrink to a size where services are not in reach of people's homes or running at fares that people cannot afford, or not running at all in off-peak hours."

Mr Booth said the authorities were asking that if they stood together and took the rap for keeping fares down, they should be armed with assurances of help from a future Labour government.

He would argue very strongly in favour of it and he hoped the party would agree on such action. The authorities involved are increasingly concerned that by putting up fares fewer passengers use the service, which then has to be cut again.

They believe that the extra amount demanded in rates to pay for subsidizing public transport can be quickly offset by making more use of public transport.

Disabled councillors hounded, MP says

By Our Local Government Correspondent

Mr Alfred Morris, opposition spokesman on the disabled, yesterday accused the Department of Health and Social Security of "hounding" disabled people off local authorities. He is to take up cases with Mr Patrick Jenkin, Secretary of State, in the Commons.

"There will be a massive row about this outrage", Mr Morris said.

He cited the case of Mr Douglas Grimwood, a seriously disabled person, who is chairman of Ipswich housing committee.

"A DHSS investigator has told him that he is not fit enough to be chairman of the housing committee, he is fit enough for full-time work and thus must sacrifice his invalidity benefit. But no fewer than five doctors have agreed that he is unfit for full-time employment."

Mr Morris said that Ipswich Labour Party was paying Mr Grimwood the difference between unemployment pay and invalidity benefit.

He said he had also been told that two Labour councillors in Southampton have been similarly warned by the department.

"It is beginning to look like a pattern of persecution against disabled people and it is time Mr Jenkin took action to stop or at least to put a stop to it."

Mr Grimwood, aged 46, last night welcomed the highlighting of his case. He was crippled in a saw mill accident in 1959 and walks with the help of crutches.

He had been told by doctors and specialists that he could work at most for two hours a day in employment of a sedentary nature.

"I want to contribute to the community and doctors said being a councillor would be good therapy for me as well. Since my benefit was taken away we have had to survive on £35 a week. I refuse to give in to the DHSS and give up being a councillor, but I do want my benefit back."

When he lost his benefit, the department claimed back payments of £1,400. The claim was dropped after two appeals. Later this month he is to put his case for regaining benefit to the Ombudsman.

Chinese ceramics unsold at Christie's Tokyo sale

By Geraldine Norman

Christie's had an uphill struggle with its sales of Chinese and Japanese works of art in Tokyo yesterday. The most important items of Chinese ceramics remained unsold. The explanation given for the disaster by the auctioneer was that the two sales of Chinese art from the Edward Chow collection held by Sotheby's in Hong Kong and London last autumn.

"Price for items from that famous collection went through the roof and the owners consigning goods to Christie's for their Tokyo sale had hoped to match the Chow price level. They were disappointed."

"The top price paid was 7.2m yen (estimated 3.5m to 4.5m yen) or £15,185 for a Ryukyu island red lacquer writing box and cover inlaid with mother of pearl, and dating from the seventeenth century. It was bought by a German dealer in Japan for a private client."

The sale of Japanese art included a group of 38 lots of Japanese lacquer, recently deaccessioned by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. "Deaccessioning" is the term used by American museums to describe selling off art works that they do not want. The items in the group were sold for 13m yen (£27,500), slightly less than had been hoped for.

On Saturday, Christie's had offered their Tokyo clients an important sale of Impressionist modern pictures which totalled £127,221, with 38 per cent unsold. The price of the sale, a Renoir portrait of a Girl Combing Her Hair, painted in 1896, was secured by a Swiss collector bidding over the telephone from London at 130m yen (£274,163).

Christie's had not hazarded a public estimate on that lot, nor on the more important Fougita painting, Fougita, a Japanese artist who worked in France and died in 1968, is much prized by his countrymen. The sale underlined how much higher prices are for his work in Japan than in the West.

A new auction record price for his work was established when a painting of a woman in a French café sold for 80m yen (£168,716). It was bought by a Japanese dealer on behalf of a Japanese private collector.

Another important work by the artist, a reclining nude with cat looking over her shoulder, was bought in at 68m yen (£143,460) because the bidding had not come up to the minimum price acceptable to its owner.

Christie's also held a sale of modern prints in Tokyo totalling £22,096, with 18 per cent unsold.

In New York on Saturday Sotheby's also had difficulties with a two-session sale of Oriental rugs and carpets. About a third of the £573,727 total representative unsold lots; 115 out of the 347 lots failed to find buyers. The Metropolitan Museum was also a seller in this auction; they received \$20,000 (estimated \$7,000 to \$10,000) or £3,650 from a Swiss dealer for a Laver Kilim rug, carpet of about 1875 (22ft 4in by 15ft 2in).

Painting by Fougita, page 14

Lively chess at British championship

By Our Chess Correspondent

Two more games were played at the weekend in the match for the Grieverson Grant Chess Championship at the RAC Club in Pall Mall. Both were drawn after much lively play and although Nunn missed out in the long second game on Saturday, the score of 11-11 accurately represents the level nature of the play.

Sunday's game, in which Harston had White, was a modern Benoni opening and was full of tactical finesse, the draw coming on the thirty-second move when a double rook and pawn ending had been reached.

Three more games are due to be played. If all those are drawn then John Nunn wins the title as he has the superior Sonneborn-Berger score from the Grieverson Grant Championship tournament played last August at Chester. Today is a free day and the fourth game will be played tomorrow, with Nunn having the white pieces.

Council will sue over demolition of almshouses

By Our Planning Reporter

South Kesteven district council is to prosecute the owners of a group of former almshouses in Denton, Lincolnshire, which were allegedly demolished without listed building consent.

The prosecution will be brought under Section 55 of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1971. Magistrates may impose a maximum fine of £1,000 or a six-month prison sentence, or both.

The seventeenth-century ironstone cottages were demolished last December, soon after the council had served a repair notice. The owners have argued that the buildings were structurally dangerous.

Mr Geoffrey Swallow, chairman of the planning committee, said yesterday that it had deferred a decision on whether to take enforcement action, which would require the cottages to be rebuilt in their original form.

WEST EUROPE AND OVERSEAS

US-Soviet arms race criticized in Germany

From Our Correspondent

Berlin, Feb 15

The American intention of first gaining military ascendancy over the Soviet Union before resuming negotiations, has come in for some public criticism from Herr Egon Bahr, architect of West Germany's Ostpolitik and the departing manager of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Such a course of action by either side would lead nowhere, he said in an interview with the news magazine Die Spiegel. There was no alternative but to negotiate, Herr Bahr said. Everything else would lead into an abyss.

He emphasized the need to fulfil both parts of the Nato resolution—to arm while negotiating on disarmament. He suggested that whoever in the United States kind of negotiations did the same to the decision on stationing American medium-range weapons in Europe from 1983.

Herr Bahr's reaction to a comment that it looked as though the Russians were killing negotiations was: "What the Soviet Union did, going on to produce and station arms, could be called stupid but the USSR was not violating any treaty by doing so."

Herr Bahr spoke of growing concern in France over the Soviet armament effort—the scope for action among other states grew less as the tension among the super powers increased. He dismissed as nonsense a suggestion that West Germany was interested in neutralization.

Naples area shaken by tremor

From John Earle

Rome, Feb 15

Eleven people died after a sharp tremor last night shook the area east of Naples devastated by the earthquake of November 23. Eight people died of heart attacks, while three prisoners at Naples' main jail of Poggioreale were knifed to death, apparently in settlement of old scores, in this confusion as the inmates surged into the main courtyard.

Signor Giuseppe Zamberletti, the Government's Commissioner for Earthquake Relief, toured the area by helicopter today to assess the damage. Much of the region is under snow, with temperatures down to -8°C (-46°F). Reports spoke of fallen masonry and of disrupted telephone and electricity links, but no deaths were reported.

The Vesuvius observatory said last night's shock, at 6.27 pm, was the most severe of 18 registered in the 24 hours up to 9 am today.

Heir to throne marries in Luxembourg

From Our Correspondent

Luxembourg, Feb 15—Prince Henri of Luxembourg, aged 25, heir to the throne of the Grand Duchy, married a Swiss, commoner of Cuban origin, in a ceremony attended by several European kings, queens and princes.

Miss Maria-Theresa Mestre, also 25, will become a grand duchess when Prince Henri succeeds his father, Grand Duke Jean, on his death. She is the daughter of a Cuban family who fled to Luxembourg after the revolution. She met the prince at Geneva university, where both studied political science.

The guests included Queen Margrethe of Denmark, King Leopold of Belgium, the bridegroom's uncle, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Rainier and Princess Grace of Monaco, and members of the Spanish, Dutch and Swedish royal families.

Prince Claus parried his first question on how it felt to be a prince consort by saying that the title does not officially exist in the Netherlands.

"It only means to say in colloquial language that you are the Queen's husband. So when my wife became Queen I—in this colloquial sense—automatically became prince consort."

Spaniards demand repeal of anti-terrorism law

Continued from page 1

on his feet, bruises on several parts of his body and eye injuries including detachment of one of the eye from its socket.

Widespread news coverage and indignation editorials and full-page protests in the Spanish state radio were signs that if some of the police still have learnt nothing after four years of democracy Spanish public opinion has been shocked and outraged.

There is also scepticism expressed whether the officials responsible will be rigorously punished.

The Arraqui case had confirmed, he noted, the torture charges brought last autumn by Amnesty International against Juan José Rodríguez, the Spanish Interior Minister has still to answer.

Both Spanish trade union organizations and the Roman Catholic bishop of San Sebastian have emphasised this weekend that torturing an ETA man to death could not be condoned under protest. The Spanish police's union has denounced all practices of mental or physical torture and has demanded the dismissal of the head of the police department's press office after the death of Señor Arraqui.

Agencia France-Press.

Basques arrested: French police arrested over the weekend at Ciboure 17 Basques from Spain. Fourteen are suspected of belonging to the autonomous anticommunist commandos, a group claiming to be auxiliary to ETA-Militar.

100,000 farmers in street protest over food pricing policies

From Gretel Spitzer

Berlin, Feb 15

The largest demonstration by West German farmers since the end of the last war saw more than 100,000 take to the streets in 150 cities and towns, yesterday in protest at West German and EEC agricultural policies.

The farmers' protest was sparked by indignation and frustration over their decreasing income and, in their view, the insufficient price increases for agricultural products scheduled by the EEC, cuts in subsidies imposed by the Bonn Government, an alleged lack of Government interest in the farmers' lot, and their poor image among the population.

Some of the speakers predict that this protest might only be a beginning, that the wind could turn into a storm if the farmers' demands were not met quickly.

The speakers included Herr Constantin von Heeremann, president of the farmers' association. He said in Westphalia that the farmers income went down 30 per cent in the last five years.

Herr Gustav Süßler, president of the Bavarian Farmers' Association, speaking in Munich at one of the largest rallies with more than 30,000 people taking part, strongly criticized the state's financial austerity measures, which hit farmers most seriously by making a quarter of the total cuts in farm subsidies.

Farmers also feared that individual EEC member states will do more to protect their national agriculture than the EEC as a whole. He said in Brussels, making the West German farmers' lot more difficult. This is because, some posters claimed, Herr Helmut Schmidt, the Chancellor, unlike President Giscard d'Estaing of France, failed to fight for their interests.

A West German paper summed up the present mood of farmers by saying they felt themselves to be the nation's scapegoats, wrongly accused of living at the taxpayers' expense, blamed for poisoning people (horhormes in veal, for instance), and for cruelty to animals.

The extent of the demonstration and the speeches showed how common such grievances are, and that farmers are about to lose patience if their part is not sufficiently appreciated.



Prince Claus with Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands.

Prince Claus divests himself of media 'left wing' label

From Robert Schull

Amsterdam, Feb 15

Prince Claus of the Netherlands last night deflected allegations in the Dutch press that he was left wing in his political outlook.

"I really don't know what I am. It depends so much on the issue in question. I am not a homogenous person in this respect—I'm afraid I'm more of a political hybrid," he said as guest of honour at a dinner given by the Foreign Press Association in the Netherlands.

The prince, who is special adviser to the Minister of Development, Cooperation, said: "The notions right or left as pointing to the outer ends of the political spectrum of our pluriform system of parliamentary democracy have never meant a great deal to me personally."

He delivered his speech in the form of an interview because "many of your colleagues—maybe some of you present here—are said to be of the opinion that we members of the Dutch royal family are more too tight-lipped and give far too few interviews."

Prince Claus parried his first question on how it felt to be a prince consort by saying that the title does not officially exist in the Netherlands.

"It only means to say in colloquial language that you are the Queen's husband. So when my wife became Queen I—in this colloquial sense—automatically became prince consort."

"The wife of a king or queen, on the other hand, becomes queen. Some sort of discrimination, one could argue. But please don't jump to conclusions now, otherwise we'll have headlines like 'Claus: Discrimination—why not king for me?'"

Describing as a "legal fiction" the assumption that for constitutional reasons some people in public life are not supposed to have opinions of their own on controversial matters, Prince Claus said that the left wing label pinned on him was due to the fact that since his marriage in 1966, he has been engaged in such matters as ecology, city planning, protecting nature and development in the Third World.

"Some people at the time thought these to be of the domain of the so-called political left. Maybe there was some truth in this reasoning at the very beginning."

"But now we have in this country—with gradations—quite a consensus on most of the problems connected with the aforementioned sectors of modern society," he said.

Although he was not opposed to discussions about short-range changes in the flow of information around the world and the improvement of its quality, he believed that a prerequisite was that the principle of the freedom of the press not to be jeopardized.

Solidarity's good-will gesture to new Premier

Polish labour disputes subside

From Dossa Trevisan

Warsaw, Feb 15

Leaders of the independent Polish trade union organisation Solidarity have not yet replied to the call by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the new Prime Minister, for 90 days' free of strikes but they have shown more readiness to meet the Government's request provided that they get tangible proof that their promises will be carried out.

A sign of the good will brought about by the change at the top of the Government is the fact that all uncoordinated local strikes have been banned by Solidarity's leaders who have urged the farmers not to strike in support of their demands for an independent farmers' union.

Mr Lech Walesa, Solidarity's leader, has also urged striking students in Lodz to settle their dispute with the Government and has said that the Government should be given the chance to prove itself.

Some 10,000 students have been occupying Lodz university for 27 days and are backed by other Polish university student organizations. They have been negotiating with the Government for several days over issues which are not only academic but political.

Both sides are now under pressure to bring negotiations to a halt as a failure would clearly lead to sympathy strikes at other universities. But a last minute hitch last night on the form of registration of what is to be the first independent student union delayed the agreement and talks were resumed today on the perennial question of recognizing the leading role of the Communist Party.

A settlement with the students would mean greater autonomy for universities and direct participation by students in the running of universities.

When the strike began 24 days ago the students presented a 52-point list of demands many of which are of a political nature. Negotiations with the Ministry of Education led to a settlement whereby compulsory courses in Russian and in Marxism were dropped.

The students agreed not to press political demands such as a reduction of military service from two years to three months. Apart from the continuing occupation by farmers of a public building in Rzeszow in support of their demands for legislation permitting a rural branch of Solidarity Poland is now free from labour disputes.

The psychological effect of the appointment of General Jaruzelski as Prime Minister has been good on the whole. He will personally supervise—apart from defence, of which he remains in charge as Minister of Defence—foreign affairs, security, justice and religious affairs.

He has shown that he intends to move quickly and he has lost no time in producing results. The Cabinet was reorganized and responsibilities assigned to six deputy Prime Ministers who will be responsible directly to General Jaruzelski. Talks with Solidarity on a new trade union Bill were resumed over the weekend and will obviously be speeded up.

Mr Stanislaw Kania, the Polish leader, went to Prague today for a brief meeting with President Gustav Husak. They were said to have reached mutual agreement and understanding on all the questions. Prague, like East Berlin, has taken an extremely hard line over Poland's independent trade unions.

TUC offer of help to Walesa movement

By Paul Routledge

The TUC has broken its embargo on relations with the Poles by offering to help Mr Lech Walesa's independent trade union movement, Solidarity.

The TUC International Committee, which has now taken over responsibility for this issue after the humiliating collapse of a trade-related visit to Poland due to be made by the Economic Committee last autumn, has recommended that British unions should supply office equipment. The TUC may also train Solidarity activists.

In a circular to more than 100 affiliated unions, Mr Len Murray, General Secretary of the TUC, has made clear the TUC's "strong wish to respond positively to requests from Solidarity for trade union assistance". Unions have been asked to tell Congress House what help they can provide. The forms of support will depend on the needs and wishes of Solidarity, but the TUC suggests donations of basic office equipment, duplicating and printing machinery, not readily available in Poland. It is likely that such supplies will be sent via Sweden.

The TUC may also eventually provide places for Solidarity workplace representatives on courses for basic trade union training, a move likely to prove a good deal more controversial.

Mr Bazargan attacks Iran fundamentalists

From Tony Allaway

Tehran, Feb 15

Mr Mehdi Bazargan, the former Iranian Prime Minister, today broke an eight-month self-imposed silence in the nation's Parliament with a savage attack on those who took power from his moderate government.

Warning of a "dangerous deadlock" in national affairs, Mr Bazargan made an unprecedented personal attack on Ayatollah Muhammad Beheshti, the head of the Supreme Court and the leader of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) which dominates the Government.

"Little of national affairs is not influenced by or under his orders, either officially or unofficially," Mr Bazargan said.

Instead of concentrating on bringing justice to the country, in an unbiased manner, the ayatollahs actively adopted a political stand in leading his party, Mr Bazargan said.

He received ministers and ambassadors of foreign countries, inspectors and supervisors from fronts, offices and organizations, expresses and imposes his opinion on economic and labour affairs, the policies of the country, the formation and composition of the country.

Mr Bazargan's speech greeted in silence by the Parliament and his colleagues, who have dominated almost all executive authority and positions of power, is first to respect the positions and responsibilities of the President and secondly to cooperate with others according to constitutional law.

Mr Bazargan resigned as the country's first post-revolutionary prime minister in November, 1979, when student militants captured the United States embassy, clearing the way for clergy-backed Islamic fundamentalists to come to power.

Elected to parliament from Tehran last year, Mr Bazargan swore to keep silent in parliamentary debates until he considered the tide right to speak out.

In a sense he did that last Wednesday when he gave a warning in a speech in the provincial city of Qazvin that the country was descending towards civil war. But today's speech, which surprised political observers with its severity and personal nature, was the first time he has spoken in Parliament.

Besides Ayatollah Beheshti, Mr Bazargan attacked Mr Muhammad Ali Raji, the Prime Minister, for working with the IRP to "block the way for the President, not giving him the necessary reports and not observing the rights of supervision entrusted to the President." It was because of this, Mr Bazargan said, that three key ministerial positions were still vacant.

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Diplomat freed by Cuban hostage-takers

From Our Correspondent

Havana, Feb 15—A group of would-be emigrants who seized the Ecuadorian Embassy have freed one of four hostages held under a death threat.

A reliable diplomatic source named him as Señor Guillermo Basante, the second Secretary. Señor Jorge Pérez Concha, the Ambassador, and two other hostages were still being held by the Cuban group, who include four women and six children.

The Cubans who stormed the embassy last week were armed and had threatened to kill their captives if their demands were not met, the source added.

Cuba said yesterday that it would not give in to them. The page one newspaper reported: "If the Ecuadorian authorities ask for help, security forces will immediately proceed to disarm the kidnappers and free the hostages."—Reuters.

Mr Haig not convinced El Salvador is 'lost'

From Patrick Brogan

Washington, Feb 15

The new American Government, has yet to decide on its tactics towards Central America. The policy of President Reagan and his Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, is perfectly clear. They do not want any communist regimes established in the region, and will do whatever is necessary to stop any such development.

The problem, which also confronts President Carter, is how to attain this objective. Many influential conservative Americans, including former supporters of the late General Somoza, believe that Nicaragua has gone communist. Mr Haig is sure that the same right-wingers believe that the present government in El Salvador is incapable of defeating the leftist insurgents.

Mr Haig is not persuaded. The American ambassador to El Salvador has been dismissed and the ambassador to Nicaragua has been recalled for consultation.

Aid to Nicaragua has been suspended temporarily, and the State Department decides whether the Sandinist Government is a lost cause.

The identity of the man chosen will be an indication of what the Secretary of State thinks the right policy should be. A hardliner, acceptable to such congressional right-wingers as Senator Jesse Helms, would be appropriate if a policy of out-and-out confrontation with leftists is to be pursued in Central America.

The appointment of a more moderate man would suggest that Mr Haig believes that diplomacy and persuasion have their role in defeating communism.

Party leaders fight for survival

From Mario Modiano

Ankara, Feb 15

Turkey's two most prominent politicians, relegated to compulsory redundancy by the country's military regime, seem determined to fight for political survival in a party leader.

Between them, Mr Süleyman Demirel and his arch rival, Mr Bulent Ecevit, have controlled this country's destinies as prime ministers for the best part of the last 16 years.

Today, their parties, the conservative Justice Party and the social-democratic People's Republican Party, have been closed by the military and after a spell of detention they were warned against making political statements.

The ruling generals have made it clear that even when the country returns to political normality, these politicians will be disqualified as leaders by legislation that will limit the role of a party leader.

There are now ominous signs that the regime, incensed by the political bickering that paralysed parliamentary business in recent years, intends to completely bar members of the last parliament from politics.

It was Mr Demirel's government that was toppled by the military coup last September. He is an old hand at this game. The first time the military ousted him in 1971, people said he was finished as a politician. Yet he made a spectacular return and four years later he was Prime Minister again.

He is now a redefining of the state structure and the function of its organs. And I intend to take an active part in this process," he said in his speech.

Mr Bulent Ecevit, from his small, new office near the top of Cankaya Hill, enjoys a sweeping view of Ankara when the winter smog disperses.

"One does not have to be a politician to contribute to the evolution of democracy in this country," he said. "I can do just as much by being a journalist and a writer."

And this is precisely what this former Prime Minister, aged 56, is doing now that his political career was abruptly interrupted by the military takeover.

I found him pounding out on his typewriter articles for his new weekly review to be named *Arapish* (Search).

"In these times of rapid change some of our institutions have lagged behind. Only Turkey but in the whole world. We have to grasp the new dimensions of our problems and search for viable solutions," he said in flawless English.

Arapish would not be a militant publication," he said.

"What Turkey needs today is peace. We shall deal in an outspoken manner with the main issues facing Turkey."

The urge to write exists also in Mr Demirel, who now holds court at home for his friends most of the day. He sits in a red leather armchair barricaded on three sides by piles of books, newspapers and dossiers as well as bric-a-brac which includes replicas of a white horse, his party's emblem.

"We are trying to pull ourselves together," he said in English, "engendering the English. We are trying to write some books to explain what we have put on the chest of Turkey, what we have done for the country."

He can pride himself that the new regime has simply exposed his own economic stabilization plan and his pro-Western, Philo-Islamic foreign policy.

Doctors want the corpulent Mr Demirel, who is 57, to walk for at least an hour a day but the rigorous Ankara winter is keeping him in until the spring. For the time being he pretends to receive his friends in his detached house which is guarded by a cluster of policemen huddling in the warmth of a cubicle outside. But on Fridays he goes to the neighbourhood mosque for prayers.

Mr Demirel receives a pension as a former Director-General of the state hydraulic works but with inflation running at around 100 per cent he has to fall back on his private fortune made during his years as a private contractor.

Mr Ecevit receives no pension but has a small annuity (about £50 a month) as a retired journalist, forcing him to draw on the family's savings.

He says he hopes that his new magazine, which will have "technical" support from one of the leading Turkish dailies, will pay its way from the first issue. "We will try to make it very readable," he said.

Army's role, page 12

OVERSEAS

Israel's hardline foreign minister to defend West Bank settlement drive in Washington discussions

From Christopher Walker, Jerusalem, Feb 15

Mr Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's hardline Foreign Minister, plans to defend the Government's expansionist settlement policy in the occupied West Bank when he flies to Washington this week for his first official discussions with senior members of the new Reagan Administration.

Diplomatic observers believe that Israel's accelerated occupation of West Bank land in the run-up to the June general election could lead to a serious difference of views between Mr Shamir and Mr Reagan.

The Israeli Foreign Minister is noted as one of the Cabinet's most outspoken supporters of the controversial programme to increase the Jewish presence on land seized from the Arabs in 1967.

Last week the American State Department issued a sharp condemnation of Israel's settlement drive, which was dismissed as "unhelpful" and "ill-advised".

The criticism followed pressure from the military Government that confiscated more than 5,500 acres of West Bank land since the beginning of the year.

In a speech in Tel Aviv, Mr Shamir reacted angrily to the American criticism, which appeared to have taken him and other senior ministers by surprise. They had been hoping that the Reagan Administration would considerably soften the harsh line adopted towards Israel's settlement policy under President Carter.

"During my visit to Washington, I will explain to the Reagan Administration the importance of Israel holding on to all of Eretz Israel (the biblical land of Israel)," Mr Shamir said last week. "This principle is based on the fact that only a strong Israel will be capable of defending itself under all conditions."

"I will also explain that while it may be possible to argue about the timetable for settlement construction, the need for an Israeli presence in Judea and Samaria (the Government's official term for the West Bank) cannot be argued."

The Foreign Minister added: "Peace would never have been established had it been conditional on our absolute and complete relinquishment of a Jewish or Israeli presence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. This is something both

Egypt and the United States should realize."

It is understood that senior Israeli ministers, including Mr Shamir, had set high store by a recent remark of Mr Reagan describing the Jewish settlements as "not illegal".

The remark prompted diplomatic protests from several Arab countries and last week the State Department made public the continuing opposition to the West Bank settlements which had earlier been channelled privately to Israel through diplomatic sources.

Commenting on the increased pace of the Israeli settlement programme, one unnamed American official was quoted by the Washington Post as saying: "We are angry and they know it. They are acting stupidly."

At today's Cabinet meeting, Mr Shamir gave a detailed review of the state of Israeli-American relations before his Washington visit. As well as indicating the uncompromising attitude he would adopt on the settlements issues, the minister also pledged to put over Israel's firm opposition to any European initiative on the Middle East.



Journey abandoned: Indian villagers surround the gondola of the balloon Jules Verne in which Americans were attempting to make the first non-stop round-the-world balloon voyage after it had made a forced landing. The Ameri-



cans said later they had been forced to abandon their journey.



Mr Anderson took off from Luxor, in Egypt, on Thursday.



Mr Anderson said the balloon could have gained altitude by dropping ballast but then it would have had to exhaust all the ballast.—Reuter.

Army alert against two threats to Nigeria

From Karan Thapar, Lagos, Feb 15

The Nigerian armed forces and security agencies have been put on a nationwide alert, according to press reports. The reason is twofold, according to diplomats: Growing tension along the Chad border and internal unrest.

The Libyan presence in Chad is seen as threatening and Nigeria has been building up its forces in the border area of north-eastern Borno for several months.

Military observers believe that one of the four army divisions, T55 and Scorpion tanks and almost a squadron of MIG 21 fighters are now in Borno.

Meanwhile, the internal tension in Nigeria was reflected by Abacha Abubakar Rimi, Governor of the northern Kano state, at a press conference here yesterday. He said he believed that there could be another coup any day.

"Anything can happen in this country at any time," he said. "That is my considered opinion as a governor and as a general secretary of a political party (the People's Redemption Party)."

"What happened in the first (democratic) era, from independence to the period of the first coup was that politicians, in particular those of the Northern People's Congress (then the ruling party), violated the constitution at every turn. The people who did this in the NPC are now in the National Party (NPN). President Shagari was an NPC minister and now he is a member of the NPN."

His comments came after the newspaper reports about the troops having been placed on alert.

Chile agrees to Pope's plan in border dispute

Santiago, Feb 15.—Chile has accepted Vatican proposals for a settlement of its long-standing border dispute with Argentina, President Augusto Pinochet said last night.

He told journalists in the southern town of Punta Arenas last night that although the proposals were not entirely satisfactory to him, his Government had accepted them because of the spiritual quality and moral force of those who proposed them.

The Pope is mediating in the dispute over three tiny islands in the Beagle channel, the southernmost tip of South America, which almost led to war between Chile and Argentina two years ago.—Reuter.

Bribery case chief witness is assaulted

From Moshe, Brilliant, Tel Aviv, Feb 15

As the district court hearing the bribery case against Mr Aharon Abuhazera, the Minister for Religious Affairs, heard the first prosecution witnesses in Jerusalem today, a religious extremist attacked the chief prosecution witness, Mr Israel Gottlieb, the deputy mayor in his office.

Mr Abuhazera and Mr Moshe Jabbi, an adviser in his ministry are accused of receiving bribes from Rabbi Amram Corach and Mr Shmuel Daskal in return for increased ministerial grants to religious educational institutions they represented.

Mr Gottlieb, who according to the indictment was the go-between, agreed to turn state's witness after a police agent secretly taped conversations.

Nobody stopped the assailant from entering the deputy mayor's office this morning. A witness said the young man, wearing the clothes of a religious extremist, sat on a bench outside the deputy mayor's office reading psalms.

Syria steps up attack on Jordan over Camp David

From Robert Fisk, Damascus, Feb 15

Syria has escalated its recent but still passive attacks on Jordan by threatening to use force against King Hussein if he is tempted to join the Camp David peace process.

According to the government newspaper *Tishrin*, Syria "will not, at any cost, permit another Sadat to operate at its southern frontiers". It would take "all effective measures" against such a conspiracy, the newspaper said.

Despite reports to the contrary, the present dispute between Syria and Jordan has not yet reached the seriousness of last November's confrontation when two divisions each of the Jordanian and Syrian armies faced each other beside I. E. Lawrence's old frontier station of Dera.

Only one Syrian brigade remained near the Jordanian border and this is a unit which is, in any case, usually based in southern Syria. Soviet advisers in Damascus are said to be urging the Syrians to desist

from any military adventures in the area.

The authorities in Damascus, however, are incensed by the continuing Jordanian propaganda campaign against Syria. The Jordanian news agency Petra has claimed that no fewer than 200 people had been killed by the Syrian special force troops in Aleppo during a search and destroy operation against members of the dissident Muslim Brotherhood organisation.

But this report appears to be untrue and diplomats in Syria—officials who are used to giving some credibility to rumours of repression in Hama and other Syrian cities—say that the Aleppo story is a figment of the Jordanian imagination.

The Jordanian accusation that the Syrian Government was behind the kidnapping of the Jordanian chargé d'affaires in Beirut, Mr Hisham Muhsen, has particularly angered the Syrian Government. *Tishrin* described the affair as a "false kidnapping" intended "to serve as a pretext for waging a campaign of lies against Syria."

Sao Paulo office block fire leaves 17 dead

Sao Paulo, Feb 15.—At least 17 people were killed and more than 50 injured yesterday by a fire which swept through a 23-storey office block in the heart of Sao Paulo's business district, police said.

Firemen rescued terrified people trapped on higher floors by getting a wire across to a neighbouring building. Helicopters circled the burning tower, but were unable to land on the roof. Most of the victims were cleaners.

The fire began just before midday on one of the lower floors. Firemen fought the fire for several hours, working at the base of the building. It is under control.

In 1974, 187 people died in a similar office block fire in the city. Television viewers throughout the world saw 43 people leap to their deaths from the upper storeys.

Las Vegas fire: Police expect to arrest at least one more person in connection with a fire at the Las Vegas Hilton hotel which killed eight people, the chief investigator has said.—Reuter.

Homosexuals defiant in California

From Ivor Davis, San Francisco, Feb 15

In the bars along San Francisco's Castro Street, home of the city's burgeoning homosexual community, the conversation was light-hearted over the recent news from Britain that a gay group planned to tackle Mount Everest.

But the talk turned edgy when a visitor brought up the latest pronouncements of members of the Moral Majority on the question of the Bay City's traditionally tolerant attitude to its homosexual citizens.

The Moral Majority, an alliance of Christian fundamentalist groups across the nation, is no longer considered a fringe group of the extreme right wing. Their activities range from the movement to put prayer back into the schools, to a campaign against the Maryland bakery which was selling gingerbread men and women, complete with genitalia.

They proved their power last November when they turned out hundreds of thousands of fundamentalists to get Mr Ronald Reagan elected President. Their latest salvo came in

northern California a few days ago when Mr Dean Wycoff, spokesman for the Santa Clara County Moral Majority said in a television interview: "I agree with capital punishment and I believe homosexuality is one of those (things) that could be coupled with murder."

Along with a coalition of other groups, Mr Wycoff gave warning that his members would launch a \$3m (£1,282,000) media campaign against homosexuality and called San Francisco "the Sodom and Gomorrah of the nation and the epitome of this perverted movement."

It is estimated that 15 per cent of the population of San Francisco is homosexual (there are nearly three-quarters of a million people in the centre). That makes it one of the largest centres for homosexuals in the world.

A day later Mr Wycoff modified his capital punishment statement. Without actually retracting, he said fellow members of his group had urged him to clarify that he was speaking only for himself.

His statement along with a growing climate of antagonism towards homosexuals that some "gay" people say they detect here, has produced concern and tension in the community. On Castro Street homosexuals are in defiant mood.

But Mr Robert McQueen, editor of the *Advocate*, the fortnightly national newspaper which bills itself as "America's leading gay magazine" (circulation 70,000) did not shrug off what he called Mr Wycoff's "violent rhetoric".

"It scares us to death as it should coming from a purported Christian movement."

The Rev Richard Zone added fuel to the controversy. He heads a San José, California, fundamentalist movement called "In God We Trust". He said the Moral Majority drive is concentrating on San Francisco first because "if we can do it in San Francisco we can do it anywhere."

The *Los Angeles Times* contributed to the debate with a cartoon by their Pulitzer prize-winning cartoonist Conrad last week, showing a cross gradually tilting over until it changed into a swastika, with the caption: "Today San Francisco's homosexuals... tomorrow..."

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OVERSEAS

Australians withdraw recognition from Khmer Rouge regime

From Douglas Aiton
Melbourne, Feb 15

The Australian Government has withdrawn its recognition of the ousted Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, Mr Michael Mackellar, the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, announced yesterday.

He said the Government had delayed its announcement in order not to cut across the diplomatic efforts by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean) for a political settlement. The Asean ministers had been attending a non-aligned meeting in Delhi which ended on Friday. It is believed the Cabinet decided to withdraw recognition two weeks ago.

The announcement made it clear that Australia's action was not intended to endorse the Vietnam-backed regime of Mr Heng Samrin. Public pressure to withdraw recognition from the Pol Pot regime has grown steadily during the past year as details of its mass murders of Kampuchean have trickled out of the country.

But although the Australian Government publicly declared its abhorrence of the ousted regime it came under strong pressure from Asean nations to recognize it until an acceptable government was installed.

Another critical reason for Australia's reluctance to abandon the Pol Pot regime formally has been fear that the move would be seen as recognition of the Heng Samrin Government.

Mr Mackellar's statement, in part, said: "This means Australia now does not recognize any regime in Kampuchea."

Australia has no intention of recognizing the Heng Samrin regime, condemns Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea and calls for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from that country.

"We are committed to a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea and fully support the provisions of the Asean-sponsored United Nations General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea."

Australia regarded the policies of Pol Pot and other leaders of his regime as abhorrent and hoped that its action now in de-recognition of the regime will contribute to a government truly representative of the Khmer people.

Last straw: Australia's formal repudiation of the Khmer Rouge regime together with other hostility towards the regime's leaders could be the last straw for most of them. West.

The announcement in Bangkok said today (Neil Kelly writes from Bangkok).

They did not regard the intention of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former head of state, to talk about a united front with Mr Khieu Samphan, Prime Minister of the Khmer Rouge regime as acceptance of the existing leadership of the Khmer Rouge.

Prince Sihanouk had made the exclusion of non-communists from Khmer Rouge control a condition of his acceptance of the front's leadership.

The same Western diplomats say that the latest repudiation of the Khmer Rouge regime may in fact produce essential changes without which a Kampuchean united front against Vietnam will not be viable.

No Peking comment: Chinese newspapers today reported without comment Australia's decision to stop recognizing the Khmer Rouge regime. In Manila the Philippines and Indonesian foreign ministers today agreed that Prince Sihanouk would be acceptable to them and probably to the other members of Asean as political leader of Kampuchea. —Agence France-Presse.

Russia deaf to call on Afghanistan

From Michael Binyon
Moscow, Feb 15

The Soviet press today passed over in telling silence the call by the non-aligned countries for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and instead heralded the meeting in Delhi as a triumph for Soviet policies.

Pravda said the movement had again reassessed its anti-imperialist line, and pointed to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and instead heralded the meeting in Delhi as a triumph for Soviet policies.

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Prisoners of conscience

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There is growing evidence that the love of uniforms and a common appearance which binds together the skinheads and

loutish youths who cause violence on soccer terraces and in the streets is being wilfully

exploited by the extreme right in British politics. Peter Evans sifts the proof and reports on a disturbing trend.

When being a skinhead becomes part of life

The extreme right-wing British Movement has already gained recruits from skinheads and football supporters. But even before it got hold of them and they began giving Nazi salutes and chanting racist slogans, some fans were displaying characteristics that may help to explain not only the phenomenon of soccer hooliganism but the roots of inner-group conflict among the young.

Writing in *The Glory Game* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson), published in 1972, Hunter Davies quotes some fans of Tottenham Hotspur: "It's more exciting if you hit someone, especially some Northern bastard. I have all Northern bastards. You've got to show them the Cockney are best."

At the Coventry ground, the Tottenham fans sang Power to the Park Lane to the tune of the Power to the People. At the chant of we hate Arsenal, they pushed one fan in the air in front of them, in salute. There was a skirmish for extra territory. Davies said they "were all in rotten jobs, from rotten homes. . . . There was no other excitement or meaning in their lives."

Eight years later, on December 2, 1980, Tottenham Hotspur played West Ham. Bryan Gould, a reporter for *Radio Times*, said: "The game was marred by war on the terraces. The report referred to youths wearing British Movement insignia, shouting anti-Jewish and anti-black taunts. There were 61 arrests. The week before, the British Movement held its first national march, the report said."

The step into politics is only a small one, but the characteristics displayed by the fans are not unique. They bear marked similarities to those of movements in different parts of the world with nationalist or tribal overtones. In the case of the football fans, the link between them is obvious: it is their team, which enables them to focus their loyalty to a flesh and blood hero or an otherwise de-personalized world, waving banners, flags and singing anthems.

Given the world-wide revival of nationalist feeling, often leading to inter-group violence and, in extreme cases, terrorism, it is not surprising that the United Kingdom has not escaped.

Sometimes the links between members of groups are geographical (to do with territory), sometimes linguistic, often religious or racial. Therein lies the appeal of Mr Enoch Powell, as a champion of nationalism and tribalism, of which the Northern Ireland Protestant militant is an example.

In 1970 skinheads (not at his best) formed a guard of honour for Mr Powell when he spoke at Smeeth, which became notorious in the 1960s as a place where racialism entered major party politics. London dockers and meat porters marched in support of his views. They are very tribal. Then jobs were handed down within families, and they felt their communities would be threatened by opening them to newcomers.

The dockers felt they also faced an economic threat from the intrusion of the new immigration and old communities were scattered by redevelopment. They were astonishingly

close knit, which gave them their endurance against Hitler's bombs. One of the leaders of the revolt on the Isle of Dogs, one of the last cockney villages, which made a unilateral declaration of independence against bureaucratic neglect of the community, told me that several hundred of his family had lived in adjoining streets. With their street parties, jargon, and family celebrations, ritual was important to them. But now they are scattered to distant townships and new estates.

In their own community they mattered. They were "recognized in the way they wanted to be recognized." That places in fact some not from a cockney but from a skinhead, a 14-year-old grammar school girl, who wrote in an essay published in the county education committee's schools bulletin: "When I had long hair I was moving and one of them myself as being just another outcast of society. Being a skinhead means really something to me. . . . It has become part of my life."

"I would even say it is my life. I look forward to the next aggro or even the next time we will be out together and have a great time. If you are within their group, and have been accepted by one of them, they are great to you. Belong to them, and they will recognize you in the way you want to be recognized."

This yearning for identity, to belong to something, provides easy picking for the British Movement. In the early 1970s a group of skinheads from Wolverhampton descended on the Aberystwyth office of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party. They came because they thought the Welsh were lucky having something to fight for.

In Scotland, the Tartan Boys, a Protestant Group, support Glasgow Rangers, and are said by their opposite numbers, the Roman Catholic youth, to have been accepted by one of them, they are great to you. Belong to them, and they will recognize you in the way you want to be recognized."

Today, the appeal of right wing extremist groups to unemployed white youth is that it provides an easy answer for the plight they find themselves in and a convenient scapegoat for it—the blacks, Asians and Jews. One thing common to all such movements appears to be, its sense of nostalgia for the past, the potency of symbols to them, and a consciousness of roots as a means of providing stability at a time of swift change.

The general rule seems to be that the more the identity of a group seems threatened, whether by destruction of language, removal of territory, economic deprivation, or racial and religious prejudice, the more it asserts its tribal identity, by waving flags and shouting slogans. Emotion takes over reason. Prejudice awakens prejudice in return. On football grounds, fans assert their identity by waving scarves, chanting, singing team songs, the Phoenix, the British Movement's, and they feel their communities would be threatened by opening them to newcomers.

The dockers felt they also faced an economic threat from the intrusion of the new immigration and old communities were scattered by redevelopment. They were astonishingly

It includes songs in Welsh. The arson of English second homes in Wales is a crime deserving punishment: it is the extreme expression of it and by sabotage in aid of the Welsh language is a classic symptom.

The economic tendency to centralization and concentration has closed railway lines, schools, post offices and other rural community assets. While parts of Wales suffered economic decline, the people who lived there were busy protesting about plans to flood territory to provide water for the distant English. Water is an economic asset: you use more of it as your standard of living goes up on washing machines, for watering lawns and cleaning cars and having baths. The distant English came flooding into Wales to buy second homes, thus driving the price up beyond the means of local people, and accelerating the drift away, eroding the language.

In *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (Faber and Faber, 1971), Erik Erikson, Professor of Human Development and Lecturer in Psychology at Harvard University, says: "Where historical and technological development, however severely, encroaches upon deeply rooted or strongly emerging identities (ie, agrarian, feudal, patrimonial), on a large scale, youth feels endangered; individually and collectively, whereupon it becomes ready to support doctrines offering a total immersion in a synthetic identity (extreme nationalism, racism or class consciousness) and collective condemnation of a totally stereotyped enemy of the new identity."

He might have added "religious" to the list of identities that appeal, but, as far as it goes, the statement appears to have been borne out by events since, particularly if another of his findings is added: "Where a group's socio-economic status is in danger, the implicit moral code becomes more restricted, more magic, more exclusive, and more intolerant, as though an outer danger had to be treated as an inner one."

Erikson is talking mainly about youth, although there is evidence to suggest that the explanation has more general application, even if it is true that youth very often sets the pace in protest. The more extreme nationalisms fit Erikson's thesis. The pace of change, accelerated by technological development, economic reasons, may well make tribal identities become more exclusive, and sometimes to become more intolerant.

In the case of the Nazis, a movement born at a time of rapid change, the Jews were built up the "stereotyped enemy." And as Dr. Jacob Gewirtz, director of the defence department of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, said on TV Eye: "The Nazis in the 1920s and 1930s built up the power structure precisely with this kind of displaced youth which had no place to go, which was disgruntled, angry and they gave them a very powerful means of expression."

Thus Dr. Gewirtz said then he could not see the same sort of movement catching on in



Photograph by Homer Sykes

Britain, the sudden upsurge of Muslim revivalism in Iran bears all the characteristics Professor Erikson mentioned. Certainly, the technological growth espoused by the Shah encroached upon the identities of traditional Muslims; certainly their implicit moral code has become more restricted, more magic, more exclusive, and more intolerant, as though an outer danger had to be treated as an inner one."

The same point is illustrated by the Provisional IRA who, following an almost Puritanical moral code in the "no-go areas, deal with alleged wrongdoers by shaving their heads and other punishments. Nationalistic protests often invoke as inspiration dead heroes. That is why the martyrdom of hunger-strikers is such a threat to stability. It was Padraig Pearse who said that patriotism "is in large part a memory of heroic dead men and a striving to accomplish some task left unfinished by them." Today, the Rev Ian Paisley evokes the spirit of Carson.

Oswin Glyndwr is a potent hero in Wales. In Venezuela the National Liberation Armed Forces (FALN) talked in a manifesto about "fulfilling the nationalistic thoughts of Simon Bolivar" and of defending the national heritage. In 1967, the Tupamaros issued a manifesto saying that they were

not prepared to stand by while the patrimony of Artigas was sold to foreigners. (General José Artigas was one of the heroes of Uruguay's war of independence). The Tupamaros took their name from Tupac Amaru, the celebrated Peruvian Indian leader, who was burnt at the stake by Spaniards in 1782 for organizing a revolt against colonial rule.

For the football fans of Manchester United, the heroes who died in, or survived, the Munich air crash, are potent symbols. The gang Hunter Davies talked to at Tottenham had pictures of John White, a member of the famous 1961 team ringed in black on their bedroom walls, in perpetual mourning for his death.

Though there are black heroes, whose unfinished task has been left for others to complete, there remains a search for identity, which black consciousness, or black nationalism, expresses. Instead of aping white culture, black people have looked deep into their roots, calling themselves Afro-Americans, adopting "Afro" hair-styles, encouraging the study of black history, as an alternative to the white version in orthodox text books, and the Christians among them worshipping a black Christ and sanctifying a black Madonna.

Alex Haley evoked this yearning for an eloquent past by the search for his own roots. A hotel for homeless blacks in West London was called Dashi, the Swahili word for shelter.

Mrs Jill Knight, Conservative MP for Birmingham, Edgbaston, on February 9 called on Mr William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, not to allow his inquiry into racist organizations to be racist, but to look into the increasing numbers of indigenous white people being harassed on a racial basis and the English people "whose homes are deliberately burned to a cinder by members of a lunatic fringe in Wales. Nothing could be more racist than these attacks," she said. "All of us deplore attacks on any person, whether he or she be black, brown, yellow or white."

Those who believe that it is necessary only to blame individuals and punish them for their actions will look no further than Mrs Knight wants. But it might also help to reduce tension in the United Kingdom if the examination were extended to the forces that give rise to it—the unemployment and deprivation that makes for bitterness, hopelessness and the creation of a caste; and if action could be taken to reduce them.

View from Westminster

Will Mr Reagan fall into the Middle East trap?

The signals coming out of Washington as to what the Reagan Administration is likely to do about the Middle East are confused but not wholly discouraging. True, many of the advisers and assistants with whom President Reagan has surrounded himself are grossly partisan and Dr Kissinger's ill-advised Middle East journey and unhelpful attempt to sabotage European peace efforts and reassert an American monopoly of the peace making process has not been disavowed.

The appointment of General Haig means that America now has a Secretary of State who is familiar with the European scene, and changes in the Senate have brought into influential position men who have been much more courageous and even-handed than usual with respect to that region. The only effective matters affecting Israel.

But there are three areas of danger which will have to be watched with the greatest vigilance by Europeans as well as by Americans. The first is that the new Administration may try to rely on "the military option" as the best way of supporting friendly regimes in the Middle East. This failed to sustain the Shah; it would be equally unsuccessful elsewhere in the area. The only effective way for the United States to support its friends is by intelligent political action, and where the Middle East is concerned that means a sensible, pragmatic and above all impartial



Attitude towards the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Second, there is the "Kissinger fallacy"—the idea that peace can be brought to the Middle East by dodging the main issues and concentrating instead on the more manageable ones—the so-called step by step approach.

The years since Dr Kissinger's mission have shown that this approach is a dead end. It has done nothing to bring about a settlement in the October 73 War. It has done nothing to bring about a settlement in the October 73 War. It has done nothing to bring about a settlement in the October 73 War.

The Carter Administration stood rightly with the aim of reaching a comprehensive peace but then allowed itself to be sidetracked by Mr Begin into the futility of endless, time-wasting negotiations about so-called Palestinian autonomy. The years since the Carter Administration fell into the same error of fiddling to Israel's time while vital Western interests burn in the Middle East?

The third danger is that we in Europe, and even more, our friends in America will fall into the trap of assuming that once Mr Begin and the Likud have been defeated in the July elections the whole scene in the Middle East will be so transformed that the search for peace can make fresh and more hopeful start. Almost certainly this is a dangerous illusion since it ignores both the past record and the stated intentions of the Labour Party, which is expected to form the next Israeli government.

The trouble is that the West is still very glibly where Israel is concerned, still prone to accept at their face value Israeli protestations of peace which are belied by Israeli actions on the ground. Of course many Israelis are genuinely concerned with security but they present impossible conditions for achieving it. As Dr Kissinger once remarked: "The desire of Israel for absolute security means absolute insecurity for all the others."

Years ago Christopher Sykes, a sympathizer with Israel and the Zionist movement, wrote that it had become "a Zionist

habit to speak not only in two but in several voices." It still is. In broad terms three voices are there. One is humanity—the voice of Martin Buber and Judah Magnes, a voice all too little heard in the Israel of today. One is of brutality and arrogance—the voice of the Likud party and the Gush Emunim. And one is of "moderation", but all too often an equivocal moderation—the voice of the Labour Party whether under Golda Meir, Yitzhak Rabin or Shimon Peres. Unless, on achieving power, he makes an unexpected volte face.

It is often forgotten that it was while the Labour Party was in power that the pattern of Israeli policy in the occupied territories was set. The difference between earlier Labour governments and Mr Begin's is one of degree, not of principle.

The portents for a new Labour Government are not reassuring. At its congress in December the party produced a political manifesto which has been greeted with gloomy comment even in the Hebrew press. Writing in *Haaretz* of December 28, Amnon Barzilai remarked: "The manifesto of the party largely constitutes a return to the one drawn up in February, 1977. Not only are the hawks and doves inside the Labour Party still divided, but the hawks have won the day." In other words the manifesto actually puts the clock back to before President Sadat's momentous visit to Jerusalem. On Israeli settlements in the occupied territories it says:

"The settlements in the Jordan Valley, including those north-west of the Dead Sea, in Gush Etzion, in the West Bank, in the southern Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights have been established on the basis of strategic defence considerations. Israel's Labour Government will consolidate and develop them."

And even more depressingly: "The Israeli Labour Government will insist that in peace time the military areas and settlements which include the Jordan Valley with the area north-west of the Dead Sea, the area around Jerusalem and the southern Gaza Strip will be included in the territory to remain, under Israeli sovereignty."

That means that Israel under a new Labour government will demand a "territorial compromise" which leaves about a third of the West Bank and Gaza in Israeli hands and under Israeli sovereignty. It means that the Palestinians will have to rest content with only perhaps 15 per cent of their original homeland. The Labour Party position is more extreme than it was before Mr Begin came to power.

Clearly there is no basis in this manifesto for any serious negotiations, let alone for any "just and lasting" peace. There can only be a lasting peace if Palestinian rights are recognised and if negotiations are conducted with the only effective representative body of the Palestinian people, the PLO and King Hussein has clearly recognized this fact. So,

it seemed, had European governments, though the Palestinians may be excused for feeling that Europeans are astonishingly timid in following up the first steps and not appear to realize fully the disastrous effect inside the PLO of a continued failure to translate words into action is likely to have.

Although in his interview with *The Times* Yassir Arafat made it clear that he was willing to give the Reagan Administration a chance to start talking instead of electing. And now President Sadat has also extended a welcome to greater European involvement.

It may be that the only realistic conclusion any objective observer can reach is that there is ever to be a settlement it will have to be imposed on them in one way or another.

It may even be that, given the climate of opinion which persistent Zionist indoctrination has created in Israel the West is being not merely naive and unrealistic but even in a sense unreasonable in demanding genuine moderation from them. An enforced peace may be the only way of ending Israel from unending war and of enabling its people to escape from the captivity of their past. In their heart many Israelis might even come having peace forced upon them.

Dennis Walter
The author is Conservative for Weymouth.

Football

Why Southampton will like wide open spaces of Goodison

Spurs gain more converts

Archibald in line for Scotland place

Steve Archibald, the scorer of 12 goals for Gillingham F.C. this season, can expect to be included in the Scotland Squad for the Cup game against England in Israel on February 25 when it is named today by Jack Stein, the manager.

Mr Stein has the opportunity to pick two more of England's most prolific scorers, Ian Redford of Ipswich Town (28 goals) and Kenneth Dalglish of Liverpool (24 goals), among other players in line for a possible call up is the Aston Villa central defender Allison Morton.

Morton pulled off the shock of defeating Aberdeen, who are currently chasing the Premier League championship, on Saturday.

It was Morton's match-winning header which secured Rangers' third successive title goal defeat.

Rangers were given a fright by St. Johnstone who went two to nil, but staged a remarkable recovery to lead 3-2. Ian Redford's injury equalizer sent Rangers back to the top of the league.

Replaying tomorrow are Cl

Exeter refuse to fold up tents and steal away

By a Special Correspondent.

Newcastle Utd 1 Exeter City 1

Some of the mightiest sides in the land, having conceded a goal at Newcastle, have conceded a goal at Exeter. The quietly snatched away, grateful that the injury they suffered was not worse. So when 12 minutes into the second half of Saturday's fifth-round FA Cup tie, the Newcastle players in City fell a goal behind to a neat header from Shoulder, the Newcastle substitutes, the large crowd expected to witness the dearest thing they could admit defeat.

But instead of collapsing the third division side took the fight to their second division opponents. A admirable pluck and persistence, scored an unexpected but well-deserved equalizer four minutes from the start, earned a second goal on Wednesday at St James Park, Exeter.

Ironically, Exeter's goal was scored by the centre half, Les Roberts, who had preferred to play for this match to Gilex, City's veteran defender. Gilex was so upset at being dropped that he refused to appear in the match, earning the team to Newcastle. City's manager, Brian Godfrey, said after the match that he would deal with Gilex.

Newcastle's manager, Arthur Cox, who is effectively rebuilding the team and, perhaps, the club, said that the players were creating a much happier atmosphere behind the scenes at the club. He claimed that he was too tired to appear with the result.

"We had about five good chances against their two," he said. "One of ours was disallowed because of the referee's decision. Their keeper made some good saves. If our finishing had been a bit more ruthless we would not have been down to Exeter for a replay."

Exeter were very nervous at times; but then when did most of the team who had spent their playing careers in the lower divisions ever have to face a fanatical crowd of nearly 38,000. Oddly, they started playing the best football only after United had taken the lead.

[illegible]

Liverpool's title hopes are slipping away

[illegible]

The making of Lee Roberts, the breaking of Les Berry, the sweet and bitter sides of the FA Cup on Saturday. Exeter can breathe, even smile, again after Roberts (above) levelled matters at Newcastle. Charlton has nothing to offer but blood, sweat and tears as Berry, once again, and their homes of Wembley, were broken at Ipswich.

If only Wrexham's heart were as sound as Bell's

By Clive White

Broken hearts, of course, are commonplace on such a day as February 14. Had Wrexham been on Saturday there would have been some serenading in the alleys these past two evenings. As it was, the Welsh FA Cup died somewhere around the seventeenth minute at Molineux when a rather early goal sent the Wolves' players straight through their hearts.

Wrexham had stumbled into the game after 29 minutes when a player called Fos thrust a header through the Wolves defence. But it was almost immediately thereafter that the Wolves were suited on a pitch that played awkwardly in the crisp afternoon air.

Their goal, strangely, did nothing to uplift them, though goodness knows they received some encouragement from the Wolves back four whose contribution to positive football was via a rather ineffectual corner.

The odd forward step invariably ended in tears and any boldness on Berry's part was quickly snuffed out.

But, as Barwell, the manager, blamed the crowd strag-

gled unnoticed. The machine, McNeil, was again de-afened an hour when his running header was deflected by Bradshaw's goal. The Wolves' match can turn, And so did the outcome.

Two minutes later Bell, the striker, was summoned, like a Superman, and, buoyed by the crowd, he was the hero of the hour for the last 25 minutes. Everything he touched turned to gold. When a Parkie shot was blocked by the Wolves, he failed to clear completely. Bell, on hand to lash in Gray's defence.

Two minutes later a Bradshaw clearance was allowed to run out and this time the Wolves' defence was nudged down.

Bell's lethal punch. Yet Mr. McNeil would sell him today if he could. He was worth £100,000. Bell asked for a transfer last year.

By the eighty-eighth minute Wrexham were, disappointingly, cornered.

Richards needed only a touch on his head to Parkie's bound. He was to receive the unhelpful Davies.

WOLVERHAMPTON WANDERERS

Meat and two veg served up by Ipswich

[illegible][illegible]

Greece in mourning
Athens, Feb. 15—Greek division football was called today off the calendar in mourning for 13 killed and more than 100 injured in a stampede after Olympiakos-AEK match in Piraeus last week.

Walking over

By Stuart Jones
 Peterborough U.F. Manchester C
 It has been an unfortunate
 journey so far for John Bon
 On his way to Wembley he h
 had to push aside his friend
 Malcolm Allison, his former
 assistant, Ken Brown, and now
 former employee, Peter Morris
 as well as his own son. He ca
 relax, though, during today's F
 Cup draw. There are no wor
 associates among the remaining
 nine managers.

To balance the misfortune, a
 Manchester City side have a
 ounce or two of luck in thei
 pockets. They needed it at Lond
 Road, on Saturday. Spectator
 clinging to the pylons were warn
 that they might receive the
 biggest shock of their lives when
 the floodlights were switched on
 half-time, but Cynin threatened
 being it forward by 45 minutes
 almost scoring from the kick-off.

As if coming in on the sound
 of their supporters, Peterborough

Indefatigable Forest have the last word

[illegible]

Barnsley the pride of south Yorkshire despite defeat

[illegible]

er one's buddies to Wembley

United pressed forward throughout the rest of the half. Although the veteran Robson was the main supplier from the right, and Cooke and Kellack twice fired wide from close range, Corrigan's worst moment was when Reid back-passed.

Peterborough's promise lay in two midfield men who sound like misprints: Gynn, who rivals Flynn as being the smallest player in the League, and Quow, once of the England Youth team. As the back they had Slack, who belied his name and showed why Tottenham Hotspur have been up to watch him this season.

It was a moment of slackness thought that cost them the tie. Minutes before the interval Hutchinson's corner bobbed up, down and round the six-yard area before Booth stepped in to fire the ball home. Once ahead, City settled into the groove as easily as the record that got stuck before the game.

Peterborough still marched towards the home crowd but time it was backward as Hutch began to take control. Yet all City's pressure, Waugh maintained largely untroubled, worst moment was when McKendrick broke through, only fire over towards the goalmouth cathedral.

Peterborough at least have something to show for their Cup 12-foot steel fences at both ends of the ground; unfortunately they proved ineffective. As policeman, chasing one of trespassers, lost his helmet, rigan, trotting by, stopped him while accustoming case, used long arms to catch it.

PETERBOROUGH UNITED
Vaughn D. McVay L Phillips R
D. Bryant M. Keane C. Reed
G. Smith J. Quow W. Kellack
C. Goble G. Holman T. Mobson

MANCHESTER CITY J. Corrigan
Reary P. McDonald M. Reid
J. Booth D. Bennett G. L.
S. McGinnis T. Hutchinson K. Redd
Referee: F. Lewis (Great North)

Darlington in their Sunday best

Darlington 2 Mansfield T-2
Sunday football was given an entertaining lift by two enterprising teams, Darlington pulling in one of their best crowds for years. The 5,932 attendance was more than double the normal Saturday League figure. The supporters were in an encouraging state when

...ed. S. Decca



Slack on the right and slackness everywhere as



Booth puts City on the main road

[illegible]

Emburey takes his anointed place in West Indian sun

Yesterday's play had everything to do with this. Gomes, for example, was a little out of focus an hour when his concentration cracked and he was driven to exchanging a wild, off-side ball for a more accurate one. The goalkeeper, Dowson, behind the wicket, held a good catch, falling on his hands. Gomes, however, having been told to first by Embury, was caught at square leg when he hooked too eagerly and the ball went straight to Lloyd. Lloyd had been restricted to 16 runs in the first hour after tea but he was back in the fight against Embury. The two chances which Embury survived, on the square-off boundary when he was out of the field, and on the cover-off Miller when he was 59, were England's only fielding chances. And they were not to have been a lot more costly.

When the fifth wicket fell at 157 England had taken five wickets for 113 runs. Gomes, who had



concerned, I would like to feel a sanguine as Botham than "on this pitch, you'll be struggling to get a run out in 10 days-let alone five." True, the pitch can only become slower, and West Indies have no spin to speak of. At the same time the bounce will get more unwever as the cracks widen the occasional ball is sure to do something untoward. If the rate at which the West Indians would bowl their overs, should England get on top victory over any chance of an English recovery. The only way to prevent such an English collapse is to give a fine, rather a low, scoring

success during their recent tour of Australia where they qualified for the World Series Cup finals before losing 3-1 to the home side.

The players showed determination and fielded better today, but the batting crumbled again as the Indians took 6 wickets.

They were 104 for two at one stage but their last eight wickets crashed for 43 against New Zealand.

A second innings was called off after rain had broken the attack. Gary Robertson finished with two for 29 as his first over produced six runs which he wrapped up by the tail and took three for 18.

New Zealand's batsmen had to struggle initially on a damp and green pitch and were reduced to 91 for four before the all-rounder Jeremy Conry, who retired to the reserves, scored 70.

Innings five saw New Zealand lose another six runs and the recovery was consolidated by Jimmy Duggan, who hit 48.

The Indians, who are making a

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Pollardstown, but the film patrol pictures revealed just how important he had been impeded by Ivan King.

They likewise showed that Run had not grasped the rules at all. The outcome was the relegation of Ivan King to last place and the promotion of Pollardstown to second.

The first two will be meeting again next month in the Waterbury-Chesterfield Classic, at Cheltenham. As Pollardstown will have a 6 lb. pull compared to Saturday's encounter, he would appear to have every chance of turning the tables.

I thought that the Bookmakers in leaving Darling Run at 6-1 were overlooking the fact that he will be a strong Irish fancy for a novice event at Cheltenham in November. He will not be opposed by Dunmore, who ran a sound race on Saturday.

In the Harold Clarke Leopardswood Steeplechase, the Duchess of Westminster is a suspect put up an astoundingly display of front-running. After making several miles, she will have a very good horse at the third last fence, but when the pursuing favourite, Corrib Chieftain, made a bad mistake at the second last, she will be in a good position to win. Corrib, a son of the Irish Grand National winner, Last Link, sired another winner, Reserve, and finished surprisingly fresh to beat an Alnshire Grand National candi-

date, Klyogue Lady, by 15 lengths. Jim Dwyer will defend Cheltenham decision for some weeks.

Fourth place in the Leopardswood race went to Royal Bond, who had been hampered by Corrib Chieftain. It was a sound race on his part. He will carry weight of 12st and he will go for the Cheltenham Gold Cup in winter. He will be ridden by Tommy McGivern.

Light the Wad was most lucky winner of the Arkle Challenge Cup on his part. He will have a chance going to the last against Tacrooy, who landed awkwardly and unsettled Newacroy, who will be a strong Irish challenger for Cheltenham's Arkle Cup.

On Saturday, the Royal Bond on Saturday has already been booked by Joan Moore to deputise for the injured Tommy Carberry on Tied Cottage in the Gold Cup. Tied Cottage and Eddie O'Grady's Jack of Trumps, are the two horses he is supposed to Ambergave Steeplechase at Fairy house next Saturday.

There is a very small hurdle race, the Bill Durkan's Anagnals Daughters, will meet in the F.Z. Mowbray Steeplechase. Thurlow next to the Duke of Salterts, the National winner, now recovered from the virus, will probably run at Newbury on March 7 before his last race in the country. The John Williams' the trainer says,

[illegible]

Whichello oozes confidence in his final test

The relief Whichello must have felt at surviving a somewhat edgy semi-final match against another Yorkshire lad, Stephen Heron, may have something to do with his

the final. His concentration was first class and his opponent, who is perhaps a little too apt to exude an air of despondency, did nothing to prompt any kind of alarm.

Among the girls, Joanne Louis

Cross country

OTTAWA: International meeting:
 100m: M. Lech (US), 1:51.2, 5.00m;
 200m: Goghlan (Ireland), 3:47.9, 3.00m;
 400m: S. Nyambuli (Tanzania), 7:51.3, 2.00m;
 800m: N. Rose (GB), 7:52.2, Women's high:
 1.95m; H. Fukumizu (Japan), 1.85m.

TORONTO: International meeting.
 100m: 50-yard hurdles: R. Nehemiah
 (US), 5:08sec (world record), 50-yard

Ogaghan (Ireland) 3:56.63, 5,000m
S. Ngumbui (Tanzania) 18:44.07,
S. A. Leek (GB) 15:51.14, 8,000m
Staynings (GB) 14:14.20, Pole vault:
D. Purdie (US) 4.30m, Women: 50-
yard sprint E. Ashford (US) 5.87,
1,000m L. Forde (US) 1:30.63, Tri-
athlon: final standings I. J. Livermore
(GB) 5:09.3pts, triathlump 1.85m,
1,000m 1:37.52, 50-yard hurdles

Motor rallying

Tennis

— S. A. Panella, Mayor, best f.
— Panella (Puerto Rico). 6-6. 6-1.



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THE ARTS

Village girl convinced of her inspiration

Saint Joan
Cambridge

Irving Wardle

Saint Joan is Shaw's one foray into popular myth-making, offering a heroic portrait undisturbed by his usual ironic graffiti. Hence it is often fatal appeal to leading actresses lured by the unique prospect of an idealized Shavian heroine. Nancy Meckler's Cambridge Theatre Company production has clearly been staged for the sake of Julie Covington, but neither in her performance nor in the surrounding casting is there any trace of the armoured, tear-jerking martyr. Miss Covington begins and ends as an awkward village girl with sickening-out ears who happens to be convinced that she is divinely inspired, and who succeeds in turning even the most precariously heightened stretches of Shavian rhetoric into incoherent common speech. She does not articulate Joan's two big reversals of confidence with enough definition. When she loses her friends after the

coronation, and when she loses faith in her voices during the trial, she slides into despair rather than picking her moment. But what never falters is her command of the two sides of the character: the submissive peasant, always ready to obey feudal orders and the vessel of angelic inspiration who can quietly place a hand on the shoulder of the Dauphin (Ronnie Letham) giving him the power to snap his fingers in the face of the court.

The surrounding company includes a few stridently ineffectual performances, but so far as Joan's principal adversaries are concerned she is worthily matched: particularly by John Phillips's Cauchon and Fulton Mackay's Inquisitor—the first a grave diplomat with great resources of theological passion, the second a sweetly benevolent father of the church impervious to all earthly horrors. Patrick Robertson and Rosemary Verey supply an arrangement of mobile scaffolds suggesting the wilds of Orleans, court and cathedral interior, while constantly preserving the image of an inescapable prison.

The Comic Strip
Boulevard Theatre

Michael Church

"Ladies and gentlemen, will you take your seats for the Festival of Erotica." There is a magic moment during the Saturday night interval at the Raymond Revuebar when, like child and chess, two audiences converge. Clutching their drinks the businessmen file off first, in pursuit of freshly delights. The remainder file off in another direction, braced for a second blood-stained hour of the Comic Strip.

This is a world presided over by a human volcano called Alexei Sayle. Being a man of taste and discrimination, Mr Sayle feels duty bound to communicate his feelings about some of the awfully nice, sincere, deserving people who are riding high at present. Being possessed of a Michelin body, a very loud voice, and a brain that only works on over-drive, it is perhaps inevitable that he should express these feelings in a somewhat startling form.

Before he has been on stage thirty seconds his nice, sincere, Time Out-reading audience realize that they are themselves his principal target. This evening is in aid of Help A London Kid—Kill A Social Worker. To the accompaniment of gusts of laughter that big hoarse-word alternative is stripped of its false significance and politically-sound corpses start to litter the ground.

This is a world where Thatcher bashing is left to plodding bores at the Riverside

Three Choirs' Common Market flavour

The 25th Three Choirs festival, to be held at Worcester from August 22 to August 29, will have a strong Common Market flavour, said Dr Donald Hunt, this year's festival conductor, at last week's press conference. There will be a special emphasis on music from Denmark, Germany and France, with the first performance of Masses by Langlais and Villoteau, and the British premiere of works by Jeppesen and Sallinen.

New works from British composers include Jonathan Harvey's *Resurrection* and a motet from Dr Herbert Sumson, who conducted the festival (the oldest in the world) for the first time at Gloucester in 1928, and on many subsequent occasions. Roxburgh's *The Rock*, commissioned for the 1978 festival but first given outside the festival, will have

its first performance at the Three Choirs.

On the anniversary of the death of Fiaz, and the 50th of Nielsen, will be commemorated, and following the success of the Elgar serenade in 1978, there will be a late-night Viennese concert in the cathedral.

Other main events will be Elgar's *The Apostles*, Mahler's Symphony No 2 conducted by Gunter Herbig, and Berlioz's *Grand Messe des Morts*. Orchestras will be the City of Birmingham Symphony, Royal Philharmonic and BBC North-

The festival will cost £150,000, of which £30,000 has already been promised by commercial sponsors. The grant of the Arts Council of Great Britain has not yet been announced but will be not less than previous years.

Kenneth Loveland

Paavo Berglund's Scottish post

The Scottish National Orchestra announced at a news conference in Glasgow on Thursday that Mr Paavo Berglund, the 39-year-old Helsinki-born former principal conductor of the Finnish Radio-Symphony Orchestra, had been appointed principal guest conductor of the Scottish National Orchestra for the 1981-82 season.

He succeeds Mr Gary Bertini, the Israeli conductor, who resigned in January after being principal guest conductor of the Scottish National Orchestra for the 1979-80 season.

He succeeds Mr Gary Bertini, the Israeli conductor, who resigned in January after being principal guest conductor of the Scottish National Orchestra for the 1979-80 season.

Now for the elucidation of 'Lulu'

Tonight Alban Berg's *Lulu* will finally achieve her archival home, when the Covent Garden stages its first production of the opera in which she meets her end in London at the hands of Jack the Ripper. It has been a long wait. When Berg died, in 1935, the third act of *Lulu* was not quite finished, and his widow Helene came eventually to decide that it never should be. Only when she died, 41 years after her husband, did it become possible to mount the work complete, with final work on the score undertaken by Friedrich Cerha. Paris had the honour of the "real" world premiere two years ago.

In the meantime *Lulu* had been given in various truncated versions, using the two acts that Berg completed, and that Helene Berg approved, and filling the rest with fragments of music, mime, film or spoken dialogue. But both Sir Colin Davis, conductor of the Covent Garden *Lulu*, and Götze Friedrich, its producer, agree that such solutions were not satisfactory. Davis has long wanted to do the opera but decided to wait until the complete score was available. Friedrich did produce the two-act version for Danish television in 1970, but feels strongly that this torso cannot work on the stage "because then the third act becomes an appendix, which is ridiculous".

Nevertheless, the Cerha version does not resolve all the problems. Exactly why Berg did not finish the opera remains something of a mystery: all the essentials of the composition were done when he took time off to write his violin concerto. Davis suggests that it was perhaps because "he identified very strongly with Alwa, who is a composer in the opera, and who is killed in the last scene, so that if he had completed it he would have been killing himself". Friedrich, a rather more mystical line, "We have to remember that two of the greatest operas of this century, *Lulu* and *Moses und Aaron*, were not really brought to an end—and you can add also Janáček's *From the House of the Dead*. I think this is more than a coincidence. I think all three composers were searching for ways to finish their works, and not finding them."

Thus, despite the deep admiration for Cerha's work shown by everyone involved in the Covent Garden production and echoed by anyone else who knows the score, the third act has to be regarded as having less authority than the rest. "It's not as Cerha admits, so precisely worked out," says Davis. "The first

Books

The Imitation Game

By Ian McEwan

(Jonathan Cape £5.95)

You can't keep a good man down, but you can, alas, a good play. It is a pity that the incongruity between the amount of time, talent and money expended on a BBC play and the amount of time subsequently allocated for its enjoyment by the nation?

"Have you seen *Amadeus* yet?" "No. We're going next week." "Did you see *My Dear Polina*?" "Damm. Missed it." Unless a play wins an award, or unless it is surrounded by a tremendous burst of friendly publicity, there is no guarantee that it will get even one repeat before the BBC's rights to it lapse and it finally spins off into oblivion.

Some plays, it is true, are awful (though none sink to the level of much that passes for "family viewing"). Many, especially at present, are technically interesting, but so familiar with television's "grammar" with its conventions and how they might be broken, that they are broken. As a short story writer he was attracted by its scale and its intimacy. His first play, a terse little comedy called *Jack Fleet's Birthday Celebration* (1974), effortlessly staked out a naturalistic conventions on their head. Those who missed it will now have little difficulty in conjuring it up for themselves.

His second play, *Little Geometry* (McEwan: "a little too neat, and at best simply clever"), was to be an adaptation of one of his most memorable short stories. The rest is history... Readers who conjure up for themselves the way

resources when they took on the challenge, and part of the success there was the roughness of the translation, both into the English language and into English performances. Their smoother, and somewhat revised, revival at the Half Moon Theatre is a way which emphasises the strength of the vision but deprives it of the funnier traditions.

It is a splendid moment when a stage hand, instead of simply preparing the stage, begins to philosophize about the theatre, suggesting it should be made compulsory, like school, since people do not seem to like it, but it would be funnier if the actor really appeared as a crusty stagehand. But those faults have been anticipated in the production, where the plot is a woman's "apprentice expert," an electrician who argues with the director. The assembled package is a bit tawdry but very funny.

Not all the performances settle naturally into the scatty

tures like the two housemaids in a well-heeled domestic interior have a subdued smoky glow to them and a lot of delicate gradation, the recent prints are much starker, with coarser, more pronounced contrast and little middle ground: Brandt's way of seeing his characters has moved closer to Genet's conception of his Maids than a J. B. Priestley view of the world. And this change of approach to his own past, not unexpectedly, reflects the more radical changes in his way of viewing the present.

While inevitably the photographer always, consciously or unconsciously, manipulates what he sees as he takes the photograph of it, Brandt seems in the 1930s to have fitted in with a generally social-realist tradition. Since the war he has turned more and more to staging his subjects rather than finding them. In the 1950s he became preoccupied—a preoccupation which still persists—with the light and shade and the curious, rather unfriendly textures of cliffs and rocky, pebbly beaches. Sometimes for themselves, sometimes as an unexpected decor for nudes which are frequently little more than just another, softer



Götze Friedrich and Sir Colin Davis during a break in rehearsal

Photograph by Harry Kerr

two acts have a great variety of vocal delivery—singing, half-singing, speaking, Sprechgesang—and this is not so in the third act, so sometimes you have to make your own guesses about what Berg might have done."

But there can be no question of the third act not being vital to the meaning of the opera, even if it does make for a long and tiring evening for the central character. The American soprano, Karen Armstrong, Covent Garden's *Lulu*, remarks that "it's like singing three Salomes on the same night and then Brünnhilde on top." And the reference to Strauss's opera is pertinent, as Friedrich explains. "Salome is a little girl whose main characteristic is curiosity: she isn't a vamp or a man-eating monster. In that she is close to *Lulu*."

At the start of the opera, however, *Lulu* is, if not a monster, then certainly an animal, as are all the principal characters, introduced by the Animal Trainer as inhabitants of his menagerie. This is what gives the clue, as Friedrich sees it, to the "mythological" aspect of the opera. The costumes and settings will in his production suggest the period of the work's composition, the Thirties, but *Lulu* does not

take place in a real bourgeois world: it is a circus, where human beings behave like animals.

"It starts," Friedrich goes on, "as if *Lulu* is the snake. She kills all the other animals. Berg is showing us at first what we want to see: a kind of operatic peepshow, where *Lulu* is a pure sex object. Then the turning point comes in the middle of the second act, where this male view of woman is shown up for what it is. She loses all that snake-like. She kills the most potent of the other animals—Dr Schön, the tiger—and now she is hunted by the rest of the pack. And we recognize more and more what a weak, naive, human character she is in reality. Then at the end, where she becomes what people always thought she was, a prostitute, he shows us that she is no such thing. She even gives Jack the Ripper all the money she has: what kind of a prostitute is that?"

Davis sees a strange contrast between the hollow, inhuman characters and the richly expressive music they have to sing, the cynical history of *Lulu*'s rise and fall and the warmth of the score. "Sometimes I feel there's almost no connection between what's happening on stage and what I'm

doing in the pit. The music is so expansive, so romantic. It's like a circus, where human beings behave like animals."

It is indeed an utterly captivating score, and becomes quite extraordinarily lush at *Lulu*'s wretched end, as Friedrich points out. "Here, when Jack the Ripper comes in, Berg finds the most touching, the most beautiful and the most terrifying music—all together—and we have to ask what that means. I think probably he saw that she had been killed like a cat, and that now she was ready to meet her end."

"I've tried to indicate that with the portrait of *Lulu*, which goes right through the opera and has a particular significance in every scene. It was commissioned by her first husband, used by Alwa on a theatre poster, put in an honourable place by Dr Schön, taken again by Alwa, then cut out from its frame by *Lulu*'s Lesbian admirer the Countess Geschwitz. At the end Jack starts to cut the picture with his knife, and *Lulu* is not sad: she is happy, because he is destroying the graven image that should never have been made."

"And I think this biblical term, 'graven image', has a

special relevance, because in our 'atheistic' 20th century—I call it so ironically—our gods are the pin-up girls, the film stars, the sex objects. *Lulu* is a victim of this, a victim of our culture, and so she is relieved when her image is destroyed." Is there then a connection with Schoenberg's unfinished opera? "Yes, indeed, I'm very influenced by *Moses und Aaron*, and of course one must remember that Berg dedicated *Lulu* to Schoenberg."

Salome, Moses, what else? Davis is impressed by how the music itself "seems with allusions: those fourths and fifths out of Tosca, and just the other day someone found a bit of Lehar in it." But perhaps the most intriguing connexion is with that other sex tragedy *Don Giovanni*. "Don Giovanni," says Friedrich, "is a social, like *Lulu*, except that he starts from the top and she starts from the bottom. Both have no religion, no allegiances: they look for their own ways in this stupid world. *Lulu* takes the terrible way up to become the wife of the famous Dr Schön, and then she returns to the street to find her grisly death at the hands of her Commendatore, Jack the Ripper, also from the street."

Paul Griffiths

Albert conjured Maisie out of existence will reach their own judgment on the Corporation's subsequent behaviour. "Retributive and paranoid" is the judgment of the author.

Brimstone and Treacle, *Scum, Solid Geometry*: one sees why the BBC objected in each case, but when one surveys the plays which have been transmitted it is hard to escape the conclusion that the censoring guillotine has more to do with personalities than with fixed rules or objective principles.

"This was the novel I had wanted to write," McEwan remarks in the course of his fascinating account of the way *The Imitation Game* itself came into being. (One hopes this may be read by the lowest-common-denominator feminists who questioned him about it at a special screening at the Riverside Studios on Saturday.)

A novel is there on the page:

is not a television script merely the equivalent of sheet music for a concert performance? Yes, but that is already a lot. One may, in this case, miss some of the crucial scoring by Richard Eyre's cameras, and in print the emphasis inevitably changes, but the mind's eye is not misled. Unlike the cinema, television is accepted as a writer's medium, and at the BBC the author's intentions are growing more, not less, sacrosanct.

Did you know that *Morgan: A Suitable Case for Treatment* was originally a BBC play? Do you remember the original television version of *Let's Murder Vividly*? David Mercer's *Collected TV Plays* are also out to be published (John Calder, two vols, £6.95 each). Some of the early ones come over, even now, with astonishing force.

Michael Church

Not much for lovers

Steinitz Bach

Queen Elizabeth Hall

Stephen Pettitt

"Music for Epiphany III and St. Valentine's Day" as this concert mostly of Bach cantatas was enthusiastically proclaimed, contained little for starry-eyed lovers. Cantata no 73's opening words, *Herr, wie du wilt, translatate as "Lord, as thou wilt, so do with me in life and in death's anguish"*, while Cantata no 90, *Es reißet euch ein schrecklich Ende*, is about the end of the world and no 178, *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält*, is a stern warning against false prophets. Cupid was conspicuous by his absence.

Whether they were seasonal or not, Paul Steinitz, who conducted, offered us much fine music with these early Leipzig cantatas. The 60 singers of the London Bach Society were scarcely tested by their half-dozen chorales, and neither was Shelagh Molyneux who sang the only soprano recitative (in no 73) of the concert. Christopher Robson, an alto with a ringing tones, also had a relatively easy time, dealing efficiently with the recitatives in nos 90 and 178.

Things were more challenging for tenor and bass. Richard Morton, the former, displayed a smooth yet powerful voice, alas marred by sounds of strain at the top of his register. The opening aria of no 90 saw Bach's quirky, dramatic lines forcing him to exploit all his technical facility. John Noble, the bass, warmed after his aria in no 73, an agonising submission to God's will which rather dragged its feet. Once settled, his voice proved over-large, the "boisterous waves of the sea" invoked by him in no 178 threatening to drown all.

Of something more amorous was the first London performance of Schütz's *Siehe an, meine Freundin*, unearthed a decade ago. Showing a rather stiff passion, this setting for double chorus of verses from the Song of Solomon was sung with unfocused sound and suffered additionally from some unstylish orchestration. Happily, the bite which would have helped its cause was given us in Bach's *Concerto for oboe and violin*, BWV 1060, where desperate accounts of rough edges less Miller's exemplary oboe playing combined with Simon Standage's subtle refinement on the violin to give the most satisfying performance of the evening.

Paul Griffiths

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When will Turkey's 'pashas' hand over to the politicians?

A broad spectrum of opinion in Turkey believes today that elections for a return to parliamentary democracy should be expected towards the end of 1982. However, the country's ruling generals adamantly refuse to be pinned down to a date.

"The 1960 revolution lost control the day it announced an election date in advance", one of the key generals of the regime told me. "We shall not make the same mistake."

Clearly, what annoys the "pashas" (generals) is that their intentions and good faith should be put in doubt, especially by foreigners.

There was no alternative, this general said. "It is not willing that we took over. We are trying to wipe the slate clean for a new and fertile democratic life. Then, we go."

My meeting with one of the country's six ruling generals had been arranged at a private luncheon in a house just outside Ankara. He agreed to be interviewed on condition that he should remain unnamed—first, in deference to his colleagues; secondly, to avoid setting a precedent in the domestic and foreign press.

"I am a simple soldier," he said. "And when the time comes I shall retire. We have no ambition other than to see this nation happy again." He was speaking on behalf of the ruling "National Security Council", which is headed by General Kenan Evren, the Chief of Staff as Head of State, the four service chiefs, and General Haydar Salik, as Secretary-General.

Turkey's military leaders tend to take a very black-and-white view of two serious problems facing the regime: they believe that terrorism was primarily implanted here by "invisible" foreign powers bent on destabilising the nation; and would attribute Western criticism of their regime to bad faith among the "heavily infiltrated" news media and fellow-travelling parliamentarians.

"We have a saying in Turkish," the general said. "It



Turkey's "pashas"—the generals of the ruling National Security Council.

is easy for a bachelor to divorce". It is just as easy to make suggestions about Turkey from outside where life is peaceful, the economic future secure, and society stable. But what do you do when your country faces a full-scale catastrophe?

The generals' motives are not questioned only by foreigners; they are questioned also by Turkey's dispossessed politicians both on the left and right. And the paradox is that both sides suspect the ease with which the generals, who seized power only five months ago, managed to curb terrorism, the country's biggest plague for 12 years. Why, they ask, did they not try just as hard in the 20 months of martial law before the coup?

"We were sick of the squabbling of the politicians," the general said. He put his case forcefully. "All they did was talk, talk, talk. They never sided with the martial law commanders the powers they needed to stamp out political violence."

Today the authorities can detain suspects for 90 days

without charges, and shoot to kill if an order to surrender is not obeyed. But it was the evenhanded way with which the regime dealt with both right and left extremists that was its greatest asset. The general said: "The security forces feel freer because there are no political pressures."

How much freer? I ventured; enough, perhaps, to violate human rights? One had heard too many horror stories about torture. Can they all be false? The general did not bristle up. He took the question in his stride. "The other night," he replied, "I watched on television an episode of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* where the suspect displayed, on the following morning, a big black eye. It happens in the United Kingdom. It happens in the United States. It happens elsewhere in Europe."

"You have to get to the roots of terrorism," he insisted. "And you do not get answers or confessions laughing, with piped-in music. But if there is ever a denunciation of torture or

brutality, an investigation is ordered promptly. We have so far investigated eight cases that were reported to us."

The general felt genuinely puzzled by reactions in Western Europe. He attributed this hostility to methodical left-wing propaganda. "We do not have enough talent to make counter-propaganda," he complained.

"But we do say to our critics frankly: please come to this country. Do not make your judgment from abroad. If you see anything wrong, let us discuss it freely. If we make mistakes, we are willing to correct them."

The truth is that popular relief at the military takeover continues to be just as pervasive in this country as it was five months ago. The explanation offered by Turkish politicians is that the horrors of scale of political values, law and order prevailing over the love of freedom.

Yet, one can sense a nascent impatience in the country, although it is difficult to tell whether this is because the

Turks expect of their generals to work instant miracles. And despite some tangible accomplishments towards restoring public order and the economy, they have yet to conjure up any miracles.

The success of the country's economic stabilisation plan, in fact, depends largely on Western economic help, and the regime feels confident that, despite a growing impatience in Europe, this aid will not be cut off for political reasons.

The general said: "They would not want to see Turkey out of Europe."

The warning was implicit. But he refused to elaborate. He said instead: "If our allies help us, the regime's duration will be shortened—our economic problems will be stabilised, and our political difficulties overcome earlier."

General Evren announced in a speech in Konya last month that between August 30 and October 29 (Victory Day and Republic Day) a constituent assembly would be set up to prepare the new constitution.

What shocked the politicians, however, was not so much his declaration that they would be excluded from the assembly, but the implied warning that they might also be barred from politics forever.

Apparently no firm decision has been taken by the ruling council. The general said that the members of the last Parliament should be disqualified by a rider in the new constitution. The political parties would be allowed to continue, except those that the constitutional court might close down for specific violations of penal code provisions on secularism and civil strife.

The "pashas" are very conscious of the errors committed by previous military leaders during their forays into politics. And they are determined to protect themselves from these pitfalls. One danger is to quit before their self-assigned job is done: "We want to be sure that another intervention will not be needed in a couple of years," the General said.

Another risk of course, is of a coup within a coup, as was attempted after the 1960 revolution. The General volunteered: "It simply cannot be done. After September 12, operation was staged by the top hierarchy of the armed forces and the chain of command remains unbroken."

None the less the longer the generals stay, the greater the temptation for other officers to face the pashas and demand their share of power. The pashas are aware of this, so as soon as the constitution is endorsed by the electorate, the assembly will vote the new laws on the political parties and the electoral system. The pashas are preparing for the political parties to prepare, there will be elections.

"What we aspire for this country," the general said, "is a democracy built on such firm foundations that, I hope, our successors in the future will not blame us the way we now blame our predecessors."

Mario Modiano

Peter Jay

The opposite is also true

Sir Isaiah Berlin used to say in his lectures—or at least he said in one lecture—that when a man speaks of the need for realism, one may always be sure that this is the prelude to some bloody deed. So, too, when a political leader speaks of the need to adhere to the existing "long term strategy" one may usually be sure that this is the prelude to an abrupt about face in the here and now, all the more when such talk is accompanied by elaborate explanations of the necessity for flexible, short term tactical adjustments to take account of changed circumstances.

Nor, for the about face to be complete and lasting, does such a leader need to have Sir Harold Wilson's uniquely nimble talent for retracing his steps rapidly while continuing to face in the original direction, menacing the very forces in the face of which he is rapidly withdrawing brandishing fist, voluble threats and all other gestures appropriate to fearless attack. But when it comes as at the Prime Minister's answers to questions in Parliament last Thursday, to the selective endorsement of Mr Francis Pym's early homily on the merits and need for tactical flexibility in new circumstances, the existing records set by Sir Harold in the art of protesting too much no longer look unbreakable.

Whatever any one else may have deduced from Mr Pym's speech, the Prime Minister's realisation of the need for tactical flexibility in new circumstances, the most enduring safeguard against unemployment will be the elimination of inflation. We must not abandon the long term strategic approach we believe in.

This will doubtless suggest to cynics that the "long term strategic approach" is about to suffer the fate of other sacred relics: to be embalmed, honoured, disregarded, and finally forgotten. They will presume that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in preparation for his budget next month, will be studying with avid attention the dexterity with which the new President of the United States is apparently preparing to apply the good old Keynesian remedy of boosting the Federal budget deficit substantially to more than \$100,000m in the face of the gathering American recession while continuing to talk the language of fiscal stringency and sound money.

Of course in the United States President Carter has the benefit of the General Bank which, broadly, both knows how to keep some rough control over the money supply and mainly believes to actually doing so. So the actual consequences of his fiscal refusal to combine with tight money are more likely to be high interest rates and even more depressed industrial and housing investment than to be the surge in growth and fall in unemployment which the new official forecasters in Washington are beginning to canvas.

But the interesting point here is that in the Reagan version of neo-conservative economics the Pym-Thatcher doctrine is inverted. Instead of the elimination of inflation being the most enduring safeguard against unemployment, we are told that the surge in growth that will come from lower taxes and higher defence spending cash—and thus the elimination of high unemployment—will pave the way for a dramatic fall in inflation, no doubt there after becoming the most enduring safeguard against it.

For about a quarter of a century after the war it was conventionally believed that there was a necessary trade-off between inflation and unemployment and that, therefore, within certain limits more inflation meant less unemployment. We then discovered from painful experience that this was a dangerous illusion.

Then we discovered that unemployment had a strongly marked tendency to gravitate to its own uncomfortably high level and that it took faster and faster bouts of inflation to budge it even temporarily below that level.

The important practical conclusion for policy was that it was better to regard unemployment and inflation as independently determined by different influences and therefore to apply appropriate remedies to each (monetary and fiscal restraint to inflation; pay restraint and greater labour market efficiency to unemployment) and to disregard the purely temporary and short term interactions between inflation and unemployment as ephemeral and therefore misleading.

In short, policy should reject the premise that more inflation means less unemployment. This rejection was supposed to have been a lesson which those political leaders who regard themselves as "monetarists" had absorbed. But it seems that a lesson in logic as well as economics was necessary, in particular, in the difference between the logical relationships between countries and between contradictions.

The logical connection between two contrary propositions is that they cannot both be true, although they can both be false. From the truth of one the falsity of the other cannot be inferred. Two contrary propositions, on the other hand, cannot both be true and cannot both be false; and therefore, from the truth or falsity of one the falsity or truth of the other can be inferred.

Now it seems that the Prime Minister having rightly rejected as false the proposition that more inflation means less unemployment, has now embraced the contrary proposition (namely that more inflation does not mean less unemployment) but less inflation means less unemployment. Thus she quoted approvingly from Mr Pym: "The attack on inflation is an attack on unemployment."

But being contrary and not contradictory propositions, it is quite possible that both (more inflation means less unemployment; and less inflation means less unemployment) are false. From the falsity of the first, the truth of the second does not follow.

More to the point, the second is essentially untrue, as well as being unnecessary and unhelpful to the justification of the government's intention to bring down inflation by fiscal and monetary means. (The ability of it and its agencies to implement these aims may be quite a different matter.)

It should be quite enough to say that, beyond the short term, less inflation does not mean more unemployment. It may well be fair to add that the high unemployment which is associated with the first stages of inflation in the short term is itself merely a reflection of unemployment previously averted by accelerating the rate of inflation in the short term. But that is not at all the same thing as saying that in any stable and enduring sense either more inflation or less inflation means less unemployment.

What remains at the end of the day therefore should be the question: "Very well, how then is unemployment to be reduced, given that this will not be achieved by regulating inflation either upwards or downwards and that, therefore, a low rather than a high rate of inflation may as well be preferred for its own sake?"

This is the issue to which both the government and its critics need to give the fullest attention for its own sake. Merely to have graduated from believing that more inflation means less unemployment to supposing that less inflation means less unemployment has contributed nothing to the development of a long term strategy for employment. By parity of reasoning equally little would be achieved by a "U-turn" from the new mantra back again to the old mantra.

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The rows that went into the building of New Delhi

In these days, when British imperialism is as unfashionable as Prohibition, it is difficult to imagine that exactly 50 years ago the British were celebrating the completion of a new capital for Imperial India. The week until February 15 1931 had seen what was described as a "merely domestic" affair, but the celebrations were extravagant in the traditional Indian style.

The beginning of the week had seen a garden party, a banquet and a reception at the new Viceregal Lodge. A 31-gun salute had accompanied the unveiling of the four Dominion Columns, each topped by a gilt merchant ship. There was an RAF display at dusk.

A people's fête featured a parade with six elephants in warpaint, dancing bears, bullock carts and the camel carriage of the Governor of the Punjab. The Royal Irish Fusiliers played Sousa marches, a rainbow appeared as if by design, and in the evening there were fireworks on the banks of the Jumna.

The celebrations were as much in relief as in pride in the new city, for the project had been wracked with misfortune from the start. At George V's Coronation Durbar in 1911, he had announced the intention to move the winter seat of government from Calcutta to a new capital more worthy of India's place in the British Empire. While he was there, the king laid the foundation stone of the new city to the northeast of old Delhi.

Although Lord Curzon opposed the idea on grounds of cost, there was a lot to be said for abandoning Calcutta and, eventually, the tin-roofed Simla. Sir Edwin Lutyens had visited Simla and written: "If one were told the monkeys had built it, one would have said—what wonderful monkeys. They must be shot in case they do it again." A commission was appointed, which included Lutyens, to recommend a site and make preliminary plans for the new city.

Although Lutyens was prominent in the commission and was eager to design and build the central grand government buildings himself, it was by no means certain that he would be chosen. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was a close friend of the architect H. V. Lanchester, who might have made New Delhi like his comfortable Central Hall, Westminster.

It was suggested at one stage that the main buildings might be put to competition, as was common for such an expensive public building project.

To outflank this move, Lutyens, who in 1912 was asked to design the Viceroy's Lodge, nominated as his partner the architect of the new government buildings in Pretoria, Sir Herbert Baker.

The look of Delhi today and the history of the building of the city would have been very different if Lutyens had chosen to help him Sir Arthur Blomfield, the architect of the Royal College of Music, as he was tempted to do.

The building of New Delhi was blighted from the start. No sooner had the work begun when the First World War delayed progress, adding to the cost. Before long the expense of the project was a matter of public debate and many of the plans had to

be continually revised to bring them within a tight budget.

In the 20 years the city took to build, there were a number of Viceroys, each with their own ideas on what the buildings should look like. And during that time there were political changes which necessitated a more responsive attitude towards the wishes of the Indians and of their national aspirations.

But the central difficulty in building the city was the breakdown in the relationship between Lutyens and Baker. By 1913 they had begun arguing over shared expenses and before long were to fall out completely over how New Delhi should look. They shared a house, but were quickly not on speaking terms and the long sea

journeys between India and Europe which they took together were silent.

The major disagreement was over the main group of buildings at the end of the King's Way, where the original plans, drawn up by Lutyens, had envisaged as a triumphal avenue, rather like the Champs Elysées, running from a war memorial arch, to be designed by Lutyens, to the Viceregal Lodge.

After elephant tours of Delhi's surrounding countryside the foundation commission had chosen a flat site for New Delhi to the south of the old city. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy in 1912, agreed on the site in principle but decided that the Viceroy's house should be built on a low hill, giving a splendid view along the King's Way.



Lawn mowing by bullock at the presidential mansion, or Rashtrapati Bhavan, in New Delhi.

across to the far bank of the River Jumna.

Lutyens agreed, imagining that the government secretariat buildings, which Baker would design, would be at the bottom of the hill. Baker insisted, however, that his two buildings, which would flank the King's Way in two arms to the front of the Viceregal Lodge, should be built on the same level, forcing Lutyens to move the lodge further back.

Most important then became the angle of the gradient leading from the King's Way to the Viceregal Lodge. In a hurry, Lutyens had signed a memo which determined the gradient of the slope and did not realize his mistake until the work had been completed. Driving along the King's Way, all except the dome of the Viceregal Lodge disappeared from view.

When Lutyens, cried, foul, Baker forbade a change, claiming that his buildings would be isolated from the road. Baker's design made more sense. The need for economies worked in Baker's favour.

Other changes favoured Baker. The political climate ensured that equal prominence should be given to both the Viceregal Lodge and the new circular Parliament building, which Baker was to design. The rise in Indian national awareness also allowed Baker to add fussy Indian details of elephants and lotuses, in contrast to Lutyens's preference for circles and clean geometric shapes.

Lutyens's designs also tended to be expensive. His plans for bungalows faced in white marble were vetoed on grounds of cost, while Baker's residences, which Lutyens called "bungle-ohs", were approved. Lutyens was forced to work for Maharajas who could afford him.

Lutyens at least triumphed over the cost of the city. When the committee sat to ponder the names Georgeabad and Marypore were suggested. When Lutyens countered with Redlamore and Ozeppore, it was decided to call it New Delhi.

Nor can there be any doubt about the beauty and wonder of Lutyens's Viceregal Lodge. It remains today a spectacular palace, now renamed Rashtrapati Bhavan, and is the official residence of India's president. The splendid ballroom, the Durbar hall, where Lord Louis Mountbatten staged the last Independence Day in the Mughal gardens, the private apartments and the furniture, all made especially in India to designs by Lutyens, testify to his genius.

Nicholas Wapshott

The gentrification of Harlem

Jeffrey Rouault, a 30-year-old Manhattan lawyer, offers his guests port and a glass of wine and speaks with justifiable pride of the Victorian terraced house he has lived in for a year. He points out his nineteenth century landscape paintings, from the Mohawk River School of upstate New York.

He explains how he has decorated the rooms in 13 carefully selected colours. On the garden floor, the dining room boasts a large antique table and Victorian standard chairs, the wine rack in the corner is well stocked.

"I have," he says proudly, "hold some big and elegant receptions here." Nothing newsworthy about that, you might think. Here is a young man doing what comes naturally, showing off his nice new house to a visitor. Except that the house is in the centre of Harlem, the black capital of America, where through most of the 1960s and 1970s white people were frightened to wander, let alone to live.

Rouault is one of perhaps a score of white people who in the past year or two have ventured into Harlem to take over some of the best turn-of-the-century houses in New York. In other parts of the city the terraces have been pulled down to make way for bigger buildings

or have been "improved" almost beyond recognition.

In Harlem, street after street of the houses, called brownstones after the soft brown sandstone of which many are built, remain in something like their original form, though often dilapidated. Adventurous whites with a pioneering spirit and an eye for a bargain are beginning to move in.

Despite predictable difficulties, Rouault at least is glad he did. "I wouldn't suggest that two middle-aged ladies of retiring disposition come to live here," he said. "But I love it. Where else could I afford all this space?" The house, built in 1880, measures 60ft by 25ft and has five floors.

And the transportation is excellent. It's a half an hour by subway to the Wall Street area, quarter of an hour to Times Square and less to the Lincoln Centre. (The Lincoln Centre, just north of the theatre district, is the city's main venue for concerts, opera and ballet.)

He used to live in a co-operatively owned apartment and found his new house while exploring Harlem on his bicycle. He paid \$25,000 for the brownstone and has spent perhaps three times that on repairing and decorating it.

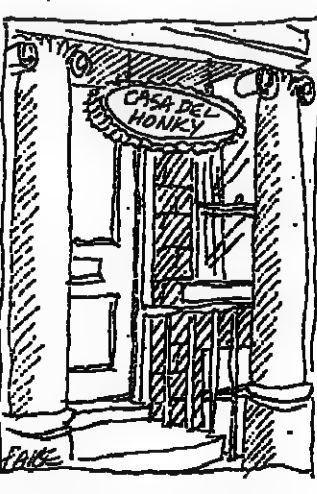
The house faces Mount Morris Park, a small, tree-lined space, crowded in summer, whose main feature is a cast-iron fire tower from the middle of the nineteenth century. It is less than a five-minute walk from the subway station at 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, one of Harlem's focal points.

To get to the subway he must pass the corner of 124th Street where, in all weathers, man and woman loiter for what seem nefarious purposes. Conscious of the pervasive impression that Harlem is unsafe for white strangers, Rouault carried out his own test before completing the purchase.

He dressed up in his best court clothes and loitered round the area to see what would happen. Nothing did. "It would be stupid to move my home to a place where I'm afraid to go about in normal clothes," he observed.

The house has been burgled once since he moved in, but such occurrences are common all over the city and suburbs. He has never been attacked in the street and only once involved in a racial incident with a customer at the local cafe.

What of his neighbours? He gets on well with those in the house next to his, but has poor relations with the people on the other side, which



he reckons is about average. "I've lived in New York 10 years and I've never got to know any of my neighbours, especially in the snooty co-op building I was in before this."

As for friends from other parts of New York, they fall into three categories: those who are fascinated by the area and will visit him whenever they have the chance; those who are a bit nervous but will make the effort; and those "who won't come up without a posse."

"The people I have real respect and affection for will come up without a trouble. They say: 'Most taxi drivers will now take him home. Five years ago he would have found it hard to get one to do so.'"

The truth is that the streets of Harlem have become much safer in the past five years and one long-time resident explained why. Lancia Smedley, a voice and music teacher, is the leader of the Tenants' Association at Graham Court, one of the most fashionable apartment buildings in the city when it was built for wealthy whites in 1901.

Smedley has lived there for 20 years and says: "It's not a lot better since the city started the methadone programme" (methadone is a drug distributed free to former heroin users).

"In the late 60s and 70s the people on the streets needed the money for drugs and they would victimize anyone. Now there's methadone they don't need it."

Like many Harlem residents, Smedley is apprehensive at the prospect of an influx of middle-class whites.

"It's not so much the fear of white people moving in as it is the fear of losing our cultural identity, the ethnic spirit that each race has," he said.

"I like the feeling of being with black people. There's a difference in the way we celebrate life. We have more colour and energy."

He has a heritage and a culture here. It's a living community with a lot of things to offer. We feel a certain kinship. And then some people feel that if the whites move in they won't be able to afford to stay here. They'd be priced out."

Yet Smedley concedes that some respects the gentrification of Harlem could be beneficial, by bringing moneyed people into an area where many survive on government welfare payments. It is also a declining area: the population of a quarter of a million is roughly half what it was when he first lived there.

Nearly half the property in Harlem is owned by the city. If a landlord is behind with his taxes, the city simply seizes his building and eventually sells it to someone else.

Most properties that the city has thus acquired are tenements or apartment buildings. A few, however, are brownstones and 13 of them are soon to be put on the market.

Exactly how these potentially valuable houses should be disposed of has been the subject of an agonized debate at City Hall. Mr Robert Davis, the Deputy Housing Commissioner, explained that, while conscious of the desire of Harlem's residents that it should remain a pre-

dominantly black community, he could not simply bar whites from buying a heritage and a culture here. It's a living community with a lot of things to offer. We feel a certain kinship. And then some people feel that if the whites move in they won't be able to afford to stay here. They'd be priced out."

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Michael Leapman



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NOT WITH ONE VOICE

A clear gap has developed between the ways in which different members of the present Government defend its record and approach. Nobody listening to Mrs Thatcher's speech to the Young Conservative conference at Eastbourne over the weekend could fail to detect the distinction in tone between her comments and the recent remarks of Lord Thorneycroft, the party chairman, and Mr Francis Pym, who is not only Leader of the House of Commons but also acts as the administration's spokesman extraordinary.

Lord Thorneycroft and Mr Pym have been reasserting the Conservative claim to be the party of the centre. Lord Thorneycroft did so explicitly when he spoke to the Parliamentary Press Gallery last week. Mr Pym did so by implication when he said at Putney that "common sense tells us that changed circumstances make adjustments necessary in both tactics and timing to meet altered conditions". They were both seeking credit for the political virtue of pragmatism. Mrs Thatcher, by contrast, after the merest genuflection towards pragmatism, was eager to present herself once again as a "conviction politician". "We are not merely a pragmatic party, responding to situations as they arise. We have a deeply held conviction of the kind of society we want to see".

There are certainly policy differences between Mrs Thatcher and some of her colleagues. But that is not evident when one compares her speech with those delivered last week by Lord Thorneycroft and Mr Pym. They would not dissent from her declaration that "the conquest of inflation has to be our first

economic priority", even though they would tend to be less single-minded in pursuing that objective. The policy gap was probably most evident during Mr Prior's speech at Eastbourne. Mrs Thatcher must surely have had some sympathy with those members of the conference who gave him a rough ride for being too soft on the unions. But at the same time, she was aware of the signs which suggest that Mr Prior has won his battle within the Cabinet to handle trade union affairs his way. The gap between Mrs Thatcher and some of her colleagues that matters at this time is essentially one of presentation.

This is by no means as doctrinal an administration as Mrs Thatcher would seem to believe, or as her critics allege. It has not cut public expenditure as one would have expected from Conservative campaign rhetoric. On the contrary, it is pouring additional money into British Leyland and the British Steel Corporation. It has not managed to control the money supply, yet it has reduced interest rates a bit and Mrs Thatcher has hinted that it will cut them again soon. Unemployment is high, but the Government has at least tried to combat the worst effects with such schemes as the Youth Opportunities Programme. There is now an incomes policy of a sort in the public sector and the approach to trade union reform has been decidedly cautious.

Yet much of this is obscured by the frequent proclamations that there will be no U-turn. No government could be popular in the present economic conditions, and no government at the present time would have been able to make these conditions much more favourable. To some extent, though, unpopularity has

been courted. Behind a smoke-screen of doctrine a good deal of pragmatic activity has been taking place, but because Mrs Thatcher has given the impression of being more attached to the smokescreen than to the pragmatism the Government is often blamed for bringing about deliberately what in fact it could not avoid.

It is this damaging impression that Lord Thorneycroft and Mr Pym have been principally concerned to correct. It is no coincidence that they are the two people in and around the Cabinet who are most responsible for presenting the party to the public. Their anxiety has undoubtedly been increased by the phenomenon of the social democrats. They are right to be worried. Elsewhere in Europe Conservative parties do not have the same mass support as in this country, and there is no immutable law of politics which decrees that the British Conservatives would maintain their appeal if they were faced with a substantial party of the centre or very moderate left.

There are, therefore, strong electoral grounds for the Government presenting itself as a more pragmatic administration. But there is another reason why it should do so. The British are not a doctrinaire people. They have only a strictly limited taste for radical solutions. If there is to be the necessary public consent for the measures necessary at a time of economic difficulty it will be secured more readily by a Government that does not pretend to be more wedded to doctrine than to its.

In the forefront of the battle

From Mr Neville Sandelson, MP for Hillingdon, Hayes and Uxbridge, and Mr Mike Thomas, MP for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, East.

Sir, Even coming from one so robustly conservative as myself, I am amazed at the damage done to the reputation of the Conservative Party by the reference as reported (February 14) to "humbly from the faint hearts" who are planning to desert us just when the battle is at its fiercest. It will be seen by most rational people, let alone historians of the future, as a classic example of conscious hypocrisy. Does one really have to ask Mr Healey where he was when the battles in recent years were raging and the "faint hearts", as he calls us, were doing what we could in many a bruising affair, to resist the disastrous tide that was overtaking and taking over the Labour Party?

Perhaps for him, during the really decisive years, discretion was the better part of the valour and, as we have seen, he paid a bitter price for it. If the battle is at its fiercest, that can only be because of the crescendo of panic now felt by Mr Healey and others in the Parliamentary Party at the prospect of final disintegration.

It is no thanks to him that war-fare between the party has developed on a wider front. It merely reflects the obvious reality that, for reasons of expediency rather than any earlier sense of principle and conviction, the Labour leadership is at last forced into making a stand. But the real battles were fought on a far more basic level. That Mr Healey was conspicuously absent. No one would be more esteemed by the whole nation if he were now to throw his considerable intellect and authority behind his natural political allies in the new social democratic movement.

Yours faithfully,
NEVILLE SANDELSON,
MIKE THOMAS,
Members of Commons.
February 14.

Care of ancient buildings

From Mr Andrew Lloyd Webber

Sir, I believe anything that threatens our historic buildings must be resisted, and lack of access to them is deplorable. But I do not entirely share the view that certain buildings may pass back into private hands.

Fountains Abbey is a case in point. How greatly it contrasts with Rievaulx, where the Department of the Environment have erected a large but in the very centre of the site from the eighteenth-century park on the hill above the abbey. One can see the destruction of the garden at Hailes Abbey when it was under the DoE's care. This was a beautifully planted arrangement, marking out the plan of the church, which to me had greater aesthetic value than the modernist museum that is now revealed. Dom David Knowles's *Monastic Sites from the Air* shows us how things were at Hailes, where another hut has been constructed as a museum.

Then one observes that ancient monuments in the DoE's care tend to have notices firmly fixed to them, forbidding the public to climb walls and that horrid-looking wooden staircases are installed so that people can climb up towers whose staircases have fallen down. I have visited Bayham Abbey recently and find its overgrown walls and that horrid-looking wooden staircase are installed so that people can climb up towers whose staircases have fallen down.

Of course the DoE's ancient monument department has the highest skill and craftsmanship; but I wonder whether the sort of private person or body who would want to take over the Abbey would look after it with a love no government department could, and probably be able to keep it open for longer. I doubt whether they would build an imposing hut in the garden.

Yours faithfully,
ANDREW LLOYD WEBBER,
11 West Eaton Place, SW1.
February 2.

Suspected racial attacks

From the Chairman of the National Front

Sir, A necessary condition for the operation of the rule of law is that police officers are free from administrative direction by their political masters. During the last week we have seen the Home Secretary order an inquiry into "racist organisations" and promise "consultation" with chief constables about the possible establishment of "special police units". The pretext for this thinly-disguised attempt to police the National Front is a report compiled by the Joint Committee Against Racism of allegedly racist attacks.

If the reported attacks really have taken place they are to be deplored, whether the motive was racial or not. However, it should be remembered that many supposedly racist attacks in the past have later been found to have been the work of multi-racial gangs (the attack on Bengali workers at the Harrington brewery in July 1978 and the murders of Akab Ali and Gurdip Singh Chaggar). Furthermore even the BBC felt constrained to comment: "There is absolutely no evidence that the National Front is a body or a political party, either instigates or sanctions such attacks" (Kent Barker, *The World This Week*, February 8).

If a substantial number of racial attacks have taken place, then however deplorable, they are yet further evidence that the multi-racial society has failed. The blame must surely attach to the architects of that society and not to those who have long prophesied its failure. If the perpetrators of such attacks can be discovered they must be prosecuted, but they must not be used by the Home Secretary as an excuse for laying the foundation stone of a police state.

Yours faithfully,
ANDREW BRONS,
National Front,
PO Box 163, EC2.
February 8.

Using arms in support of civil power

From Mr Stephen Hall-Jones

Sir, The Attorney General's two immediate predecessors in title to that office would not have expressed quite as much horror at the question asked by Mr Dennis Canavan as the present incumbent did on February 9 in the House (Parliamentary report, February 10).

The whole question of the use of force by members of her Majesty's Forces in support of the civil power is a matter of immense importance for those who have had over the years to advise on this very problem. Nowhere is the issue more acute, than in Northern Ireland, where I served for a year on the (then) Army Legal Services Staff.

The section quoted by the Attorney General in support of the proposition that the security forces have no greater powers than any citizen in preventing the commission of crime, is to be found in the Criminal Law Act 1967. It provides as follows:

(1) A person shall use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime, or in effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of offenders or suspected offenders or of persons unlawfully at large.

That section has been the criterion used by the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland and the Attorney General in deciding whether or not to prosecute members of the security forces for alleged offences committed while on duty, ranging from murder to assault. That the section should apply to those on duty in Northern Ireland at all is what should cause horror and not Mr Canavan's question.

The reason is simple. The section of that Act was never designed to cater for the situation where highly trained and powerful armed soldiers are called on to support the civil power. It was aimed at the "have-a-goers" and others who used force to prevent "domestic" crime more often than not aimed at the person or the property of the user of that force. It sought to codify a tangled mass of case law on the subject.

The situation in Northern Ireland (and for that matter the siege of the Iranian Embassy) is wholly beyond its scope. How can a soldier in a combat situation weigh up the niceties of "reasonableness" in his use of force? The mere fact that soldiers are on duty in the province could face prosecution for an error of judgment afterwards held to be objectively unreasonable, or at least while I was there, a tremendous impediment to the aggressive attitude required by the security forces in the defeat of terrorism in an internal security situation. The greatest dishonour we do to our troops in Northern Ireland is to equip them for a combat role and then threaten to prosecute them if they use those weapons in a way held subsequently to be unreasonable.

Of course the distinction must be drawn between a soldier faced with an "agony of the moment" situation and the recent conviction of a young officer and his soldiers in connection with a murder committed in South Armagh. That distinction is being made constantly by the DPP for Northern Ireland who has the unenviable task of deciding when to prosecute.

The first move must be to make the test of the section a subjective one and not one of reasonableness. In that case a soldier genuinely believing that his use of force was proper would have nothing to fear if afterwards in the cold light of day a reasonable man would have thought otherwise. But of far greater importance than short-term expediency is the pressing need to provide a system of safeguards for civil liberties. In the first place time providing the soldier with the peace of mind, if one can call it that, necessary to carry out his duty to root out terrorism. Hampering him by the illogical application of

the Criminal Law Act 1967 is not the way to achieve that. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
STEPHEN HALL-JONES,
Lamb Building, Temple, E.C.4.

From Mr Bruce Harris
Sir, Your reports of the unconscionable prosecution evidence given at the recent trial of the surviving Iranian Embassy siege terrorists will have created a disquiet in the minds of many people who tended to leave an impression that some of the terrorists were shot by the SAS (Special Air Service Regiment) in cold blood after they had surrendered. Subsequent developments have not unfortunately, provided much consolation.

First, the closing speech of prosecuting counsel at that trial, as you reported it (January 22) appeared to be an attempt to give evidence to a contrary effect, yet we were not told on what basis his comments were made, nor why they were needed. They seemed irrelevant to the charges before the court.

Then you reported on the inquest into the deaths of the other terrorists (February 4 and 5). There, perhaps curiously, no members of the SAS team were called to give oral evidence, although the coroner's summing up suggested that the oral evidence of some of the hostages had been embellished or misinterpreted with the passage of time.

The written statements of two of the soldiers were read, but what of the evidence of the others? Some of the statements, evidence, as reported, seemed unsatisfactory, for example, if there was, as much smoke and confusion as the coroner indicated, why did Soldier H bother to ask a terrorist's name and country? And the same soldier's statement that a terrorist "made some movement with his hand which I considered a direct threat" is vague in the extreme.

The coroner's directions to the jury did not appear, in many respects, to have been in point. Although he rightly pointed out that justifiable homicide, using such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of a crime, it was inappropriate to say that the jurors should consider the implications to this country if verdicts of unlawful killing were recorded, or to suggest that they should consider whether the SAS acted reasonably in all the circumstances, by which phrase he apparently meant what had or might have happened prior to their attack.

That it took the jury almost an hour to reach verdicts is interesting, but was it not inapt for the coroner to express his surprise at the time it took them? They had already had more than one substantial hint from him.

Lastly, it was a pity that when the Attorney General was asked whether the SAS had been given immunity from prosecution or orders for summary execution, he did not see fit to answer either question categorically, according to your Parliamentary report (February 9). He may well have been horrified by the questions, but he should still have replied to them.

No doubt the courage and determination of those involved, and many might feel that, morally, whatever happened when the SAS attacked is justifiable. But if there were any deliberate killings, or if orders were given for summary execution, or any kind of immunity was granted, there would have been a most serious breach of the law as it stands.

No one is above the law, and those cynics, like me, who retain even the faintest doubt in the back of their minds are entitled to be reassured that the fact that this principle was respected in the case in point.

Yours faithfully,
BRUCE HARRIS,
24 Elgin Crescent, W11.

Breath test policy

From Mr G. W. R. Terry and Dr P. A. B. Raffie

Sir, As president of the Association of Chief Police Officers and chairman of the Transport Committee of the Medical Commission on drink and driving, may we express our concern that much of the debate on the power of the police to require breath tests has been clouded by the use of emotive phrases which do not bear examination, and the failure to compare the committee's proposal with the present law which, in this respect, the Secretary of State seems intent to preserve.

It does not help to use expressions such as "We are not yet ready for random testing in a democratic society make sense. In this and in most other countries a 'breathalyzer' law exists. It cannot be enforced without a power to require a breath test."

The only question is whether to allow the police to use their trained power of observation and their discretion to require a test when they think it appropriate or whether it is possible in any logical manner to limit that discretion by statute. The committee not only recommended that the discretion could not

be fettered but stated that this was fundamental to all their proposals. It simplified the law, increased its deterrent effect, rid the present Act of some of its anomalies and would allow sensible enforcement.

Those who express contrary views do so without contrasting discretionary testing with the present limit of involvement in an accident, a moving traffic offence or a suspicion that the driver has consumed alcohol. These are arbitrary grounds chosen to avoid leaving the matter to the discretion of the police. It ignores the fact that if the police may require a breath test in these circumstances they may not in others, however obvious a candidate for testing a motorist may be. Within those groups many will be innocent, yet subject to being tested, whereas others outside those groups will not be so subject. Who benefits from this?

With the appalling number of casualties due to drink and driving and a steady erosion of the effectiveness of the present law, surely a more logical and reasoned view should prevail. It is not the responsible motorist who need fear the use of these powers. He or she will be the first to benefit if casualties are reduced by keeping the driver sober enough to excess off the road.

Yours faithfully,
GEORGE W. R. TERRY,
ANDREW RAFFIE,
Surrey Police Headquarters,
Malling House,
Lewes,
East Sussex.

American music

From Mr T. P. Hudson

Sir, Mr Bernard Levin rightly points out (February 5) that the chief American contribution to twentieth-century music has been jazz and related fields, though he curiously ignores among composers Duke Ellington, whom your obituarist described as towering far above such a figure as Gershwin. But surely the greatest creative talents in American music of this period belong to the great jazz improvisers, who were often incapable of reading or writing music, but who none the less would effectively "recompose" a tune each time they played it with a

facility and an invention that can be breathtaking.

The idea of the "composer" creating works to be performed according to a score whose notes are invariably in any case probably the exception in musical history. It is a kind of Europeanism that lies behind Mr Levin's view, though one does not have to go far back in European musical history to find improvisatory techniques being employed in exactly the same way as in jazz, though alas not preserved for posterity.

Yours faithfully,
T. P. HUDSON,
23 Glenwood Avenue,
Bognor, West Sussex.
February 9.

Thomson tenure of 'The Times'

From Lord Chorley and others

Sir, In 1975, we were nominated by our colleagues on the Royal Commission on the Press to undertake a study into the financial situation of Fleet Street. This was published in 1976 as the *Interim Report of the Commission*. Our consultations and investigations gave us a comprehensive insight into the attitudes of trade unions and proprietors.

At that time, we received compelling evidence of the Thomson Organisation's willingness to transmute verbal assurances of good will towards other newspapers into purposeful action.

Now that there is a new proprietor of Times Newspapers, we wish to record our sadness that so little awareness has been shown in public discussions of the debt owed to the Thomson family, and that so much ill-founded criticism has been directed at the Thomson Organisation.

The facts are that our main newspaper of record has been sustained at a heavy cost for 34 years and, when the losses could no longer be carried with any chance of recovery, the paper was sold under arrangements which have fully safeguarded the public interest.

Yours truly,
ROGER CHORLEY,
JOHN HUNT,
O. R. MCGREGOR,
Members of Lords.
February 15.

Making a ministry

From Sir John Colville

Sir, I think that in his "Memo to the Labour Party" and the constitutional lesson it contains, Mr Peter Jay (February 2) makes one reprehensible error. He says that if a Labour Prime Minister (or presumably any Prime Minister) lost his majority in the House of Commons he "would still have the option of advising the Queen to send for someone else (including the Conservative leader) or to dissolve Parliament".

People far more experienced than either Mr Jay or me, including the Prime Minister himself, and Lord Chancellor have held that an outgoing Prime Minister has no right or power to advise the Sovereign about his successor, unless specifically invited to do so. And since it is the Sovereign's undoubted duty to ensure that the government of the country is carried on, the monarch would be right to refuse a dissolution, should an alternative government be available in the existing Parliament.

We may not have a Constitution, but we do have what are loosely called conventions of the Constitution. I am sure Mr Jay will agree that these should not be dictated afresh by the egregious theories propounded at a Labour Party conference or by any authority other than all three estates of the realm.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN COLVILLE,
Broughton, Stockbridge, Hampshire.
February 2.

Revolution in employment

From Mr Derek Barrow

Sir, That modern technology produces more wealth with less and less labour (Mr Cumberland's letter, February 7) is an unacceptable fact. For since only those who work are paid, in fact this means the production of even more goods with even less money to buy those goods.

Herein lies the problem of working: how may industry pay the going wage to an increased, part-time work force and remain profitable? It is a problem which at once questions the fundamental concepts of our financial system. But, if we are not to have social collapse, it is surely a problem which must urgently be faced—even by politicians.

Yours faithfully,
DEREK BARROW,
120 Coworth, Chichester.
February 9.

MPs abroad

From Mr Ron Brown, MP for Leitch (Labour)

Sir, I notice that a group of Tory MPs, including Mr N. Winterton, have just returned from the Middle East, where, of course, they were guests of the FLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation).

Fair enough. They may learn something about the Palestine question. But why did they condemn me, when we visited Afghanistan to see the situation in that country? Perhaps the answer has to do with the double standards of the Tory Party.

Sincerely,
RON BROWN,
House of Commons.

Was that a record?

From the Registrar of Companies in England and Wales

Sir, Mr Oliver Weaver (February 10) complains of inconsistency in Section 53 of the new Companies Bill, which proposes that I may destroy certain original documents provided I keep copies of them.

Let us suppose that the intention is to be solely means of maintaining a viable photocopying industry. I should point out that the copies in question already exist, on microfilm, which condenses each mile of shelf storage into about 140ft. The paper is hardly, if ever, needed subsequently, and certainly not after 10 years, and the proposal would not only save valuable storage space but supply sufficient paper for recycling to preserve a few more trees each year.

And "and" and "or" (or "and" and "or"), whilst not necessarily the same in law at present, are so to most people, the intention is to secure, in this part of company law at least, that they should be. Yours faithfully,
DENNIS NOTTAGE,
Companies House,
Crown Way, Cardiff.
February 11.

David Wood

High cost of ECC's Tower of Babel

One very good thing and one very appalling bad thing happened in the European Parliament in the past few days. The good thing was the visit of President Sadat to the visit of the Parliament as the platform for launching his *démarche* to keep the Camp David agreement alive and to add a European dimension, even to the extent of a peace-keeping force, to any settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Nothing could have been more flattering to the MEPs gathered in Luxembourg than to be the chosen audience for the Sadat exercise in the higher diplomacy; and most of them, if you ignore a group of churlish Communists, were saying that the visit at last placed the under-rated Parliament in the full beam of the international limelight.

Television cameras, radio microphones, and journalistic reinforcements were all there to mark the importance of President Sadat's visit and his speech—a courteous opening paragraph in French, repeated in German, and the rest in English.

Not as it chances, that the European Parliament has any responsibility for foreign policy, or any particular influence upon the national governments of the EU that are responsible individually for foreign policy. That brings us to the bad thing that happened.

Newspapers, especially British newspapers, got hold of the fact that 36 MEPs had flown first class to Bogota, for a week accompanied by a retinue of interpreters, cashiers, secretaries, and protocol experts bringing the total team to 105. The cost to European Community funds had been put at £250,000. The Parliament was criticised for making a Fleet Street holiday. Why Bogota when so much is wrong in the Community itself?

How many more such trips had been planned?

In public MEPs defended themselves as best they could, without succeeding in hiding their sense of guilt. Yes, another delegation would soon go to Japan, led by Sir Fred Warner, former British Ambassador in Tokyo, and a second very large one to Sierra Leone. Nobody denied that the European Parliament carried no responsibility for foreign policy, though it is and will increasingly be concerned with external trade, and overseas parliamentary visits are a normal and necessary part of trade relations for what is now the largest trading block in the world.

All that was designed to put a decent public face on a scandal that MEPs, especially the British contingent, knew could never be justified to an electorate on hard tack. Privately, from the President down to the rank and file parliamentarians, it was recognised that there must not be another public relations mistake like Bogota. Party group leaders in the managerial bureau showed their displeasure, without pronouncing any ruling to control future unnecessary spending, and a committee was asked to report—without reaching any impetuous conclusion.

But some action was taken. Sir Fred Warner severely cut the administrative tail of his Japanese delegation, and Mr Kenneth Collins said his delegation to the delights of his native Strathclyde would be strictly kept on short commons. Mrs Castle, leader of the British Socialist delegation, went on the warpath against the delegation. In fact, Sir Fred Warner's delegation, like Mrs Castle's, began to exploit a scandal that turns out to be so much to the taste of the popular press, which reports their speeches in Parliament.

On the assumption that the European Parliament, like any other Parliament, will be all the better for knowing the world, it is reasonable to suppose that there will continue to be delegations of MEPs overseas. But several questions need to be asked, and are already being asked. Would not a small delegation of six or 10 MEPs be as capable of reporting to 36 colleagues as a delegation of 36 or more? Could not the host country, as is common when a national parliament sends delegates

abroad, make itself responsible for interpretation and translation? In an impressively multi-lingual Parliament, could not MEPs be chosen for specific visits because they speak the appropriate language?

Above all, as the Community grows from the Six to the Ten and soon to the Twelve, is there not an increasingly strong argument for cutting rising costs by limiting the number of "official" languages. With the entry of Greece there are now seven official languages, and the entry of Portugal and Spain during the 1980s will raise the total to nine. It is surely time to call a halt.

The definitive treaty language of the Community continues to be French. Therefore, apart from any predictable opinion President Giscard d'Estaing may have, French must stand first on any limited list, although my impression is that more French MEPs use English than French as their second language, including most Germans, the Dutch and the Danes. Nevertheless there is an argument for German and Italian. But why, as some MEPs now ask, go beyond the Community's Big Four?

The European Parliament's staffing and costs could be virtually halved, not only in respect of overseas delegations, by limiting the official languages to four. For it has to be remembered that every seat in plenary session or in committee, has to be interpreted already into seven official languages, and then separately translated by linguists into documents. Interpreters and translators charge big fees and command high salaries. The Parliament's paper mountain towers over any of the mountains created by the Common Agricultural Policy. We all know in Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg what it is like to live in a Tower of Babel since the 24 Greek MEPs joined and blessed upon us names, party labels, and speech typewriters that even the best classical scholars cannot begin to fathom.

Fortunately, the Irish are content with English and have not consented to use any. By that hangs a tale. An Irish official last week heard me stumbling on the telephone over the Erse spelling of an Irish president's name. He told me his own unguessable and unpronounceable Erse name, and then added: "But I'm known here as Billy Lee". The more Billy Lee the better in a multi-national parliament.

THE TIMES

BUSINESS NEWS

Why government borrowing is going adrift, page 17

CCA - the case for evolution, not revolution, page 16

Stock markets
FT Ind 493.2
FT Gilt 69.01

Sterling
\$2.2655
Index 103.8

Dollar
Index 101.0
DM 2.2195

Gold
\$493.50

Money
3 mth sterling 134-135
3 mth Euro \$ 183-184
6 mth Euro \$ 184-185
Friday's close

Metro blow to Innocenti over launch in Italy

BL is to launch the Metro in June as part of a campaign aimed at doubling the number of vehicles sold on the Italian market.

The decision to import will be a disappointment to Signor Alessandro de Tommaso, whose company works in Milan—mainly owned by British Leyland—assemblies about 40,000 units a year and who said at the end of December that he is negotiating with BL to produce the Metro in Italy.

In its small way, BL officials describe the company's expansion in Italy in recent years as success. From about 10,000 units in 1979, sales rose to 30,000 last year, and should reach 36,000 this year, helped by the arrival of the first Metros in June. The most popular cars last year were about 6,500 Ladas and about 6,000 Clubmans.

The turnover of BL's subsidiary Levaland Italia rose in 1980 to £12,000m (€46.5m) against £8,000m the year before.

Earthquake fund

The Italian cabinet will seek parliamentary approval for a special levy of 5 per cent of public income to provide £1.5m to help rebuild Italy's damaged regions damaged by the November earthquake.

Government officials said. A year reconstruction programme will cost £8,000,000m (£3.94m) according to government estimates.

Tax cuts delayed

President Reagan has decided ask Congress to make a 1 per cent income tax reduction effective on July 1 instead retroactive to the beginning of the year.

Nigeria contracts

Five new contracts amounting to £20m have been won by Woodrow of Nigeria, a subsidiary of a firm based in Alimna, the capital of Nigeria, and the asphalt-concrete overlay of the 117-kilometre road linking Kano and Jibia in the Kano and Jibia States, worth £5.9m.

Bi Tokyo talks

Sir Raymond Penock, president of the Confederation of British Industry, today begins three day visit to Tokyo. He will have talks with Japanese employers' organisations and government ministers on ways reducing the imbalance of trade.

Steel trigger prices

The United States Department of Commerce said steel trigger prices for the second quarter of 1981 will be 4.4 per cent above the first quarter.

Canadian loan

A senior official in Canada's duty ministry said he could not confirm or deny a report that a Federal cabinet minister has approved a \$140m (£50m) loan guarantee for Chrysler Canada.

Redundant in Tokyo

Sony-Prudential Life Assurance, a joint venture between Sony Corporation and Prudential Assurance, will start business in Tokyo in April after approval by Japan's finance ministry.

IS car slump

America's domestic car market slump continued this month, with sales falling 8 per cent in the first 10 days of February to 135,054 cars.

Ivory Coast oil

Ivory Coast could become a significant oil producer by 1982 and a net oil exporter by 1985.

EEC plans fund of £3,650m to offset members' oil import costs

From Michael Hornsby, Brussels, Feb 15

EEC finance ministers hope to be able to agree tomorrow on a new £3,650m fund to help members' states with balance of payments deficits caused by the increasing costs of imported oil.

Under the scheme, the European Commission would be empowered, on behalf of the EEC, to raise loans either directly from the oil-producing countries themselves or on the international capital markets for relending to those member states in need.

The facility would be essentially an enlarged and amended version of a similar recycling operation mounted in 1975 at the time of the first oil price crisis. Italy and the Republic of Ireland received help under the earlier scheme.

Two points remain to be solved. The first is the total amount available, the sum proposed being considered too high by West Germany. The second is the voting procedure to be used by the Council of Ministers in deciding whether to grant the loan and what conditions to attach to it.

The Commission has proposed that such decisions should be taken by a simple majority vote, but most member states, including Britain, appear to favour the unanimity rule, which gives each state the power of veto to any one of them.

A loan could be advanced as a single sum or by instalments, in which case instalments could be withheld if the borrowing country failed to meet the economic policy conditions laid down when the loan was granted.

The European Commission would monitor the economic policy of the country concerned.

for compliance with the loan conditions, and would be entitled to seek any information it requires.

Apart from stricter conditions, the new scheme also envisages that funds should be granted before a country gets into acute balance of payments difficulties, and that the borrower should be able to exercise an early repayment option not previously available.

The preamble to the legal regulation which Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his fellow finance ministers will be asked to adopt declares that loans should be given promptly "to encourage (the borrowing state) to adopt measures likely to prevent the occurrence of an acute balance of payments crisis".

It also says that the economic policy conditions linked to loans should "be adapted to the gravity of the balance of payments situation of the (debtor state) and to ways in which it develops".

The new scheme was drawn up by the European Commission together with officials from member states, and reflects the desire expressed by EEC heads of government last April in Luxembourg that Community recycling mechanisms should be reinforced to cope with the balance of payments effects of repeated oil price increases.

As an oil exporter in balance of payments surplus, Britain does not seem likely to be a client for financial relief in the foreseeable future.

Indeed, given the Government's economic philosophy, Britain could take a tougher line than many other member states on the severity of the conditions that should be attached to loans.

Opec to provide £36m for poorest Unctad countries

From Alan MacGregor, Geneva, February 15

The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec) is to provide £36m (£36m) to meet the 35 poorest countries' share of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) common fund for commodities.

This was indicated by a fund official on Friday at the end of the week-long meeting of the fund's preparatory commission, which 93 countries attended.

Unctad and developing nations delegates underlined the need for governments to speed up the process of signing and ratifying the fund agreement.

Since it opened for signature on October 1 only 26 governments representing 47 per cent

of the \$470m needed in directly contributed capital had signed—with no ratification so far.

The agreement can come into force only when it has been ratified by 90 countries representing at least two thirds of the capital required for the first account. The target for this is March, 1982.

Signatories include the United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan. The Opec contribution will bring promised direct contributions up to the two thirds mark.

Rubber, cocoa, sugar and tin are potential early users of the fund which is the basis of Unctad's projected integrated programme to facilitate world trade in 18 basic commodities.

Clothing workers to lobby MPs

By Our Industrial Staff

Several hundred clothing workers from all parts of Britain will lobby MPs later today in an attempt to gain support for urgent measures to save the estimated 100,000 jobs in the industry.

The National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers claims that this number of jobs will be lost during 1981.

The lobby, which is being sponsored by the Trades Union Congress, will include workers from the textiles and footwear industries.

Last month clothing unions and employers' leaders travelled to Brussels to press their case for improved protection against cheap imports which they claim are an important cause of their present problems.

Meanwhile, further evidence of the far-reaching changes taking place in the textile and clothing industries is provided by the annual report of the Oldham and District Textile Employers Association, which covers the heartland of these once-powerful industries.

The report, published today, shows that 11 of the 52 mills in membership closed, while employment fell by 3,000, almost a third.

The Oldham office of the association now covers an area represented by six local associations as recently as 1959.

Pact may end engineers' council deadlock

By Derek Harris

A new initiative involving the Engineering Employers' Federation (EEF) and the four largest engineering institutions is close to breaking the deadlock over the launching of the Engineering Council, the Government's new "watchdog" body for engineering.

Changes to the draft charter for the new council have been drawn up which give more recognition to the role of the institutions and an agreed paper has gone to Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Industry.

Initial talks on the changes have already taken place at the Department of Industry with the four institutions covering civil, mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering. The four are now working on a final draft of the charter, which will be presented to the CEI's already slim income.

hope yet of ending the stalemate between the department and the 16 institutions, including the main four which make up the Council of Engineering Institutions (CEI).

The CEI and all the institutions had earlier joined in rejecting the department's draft charter for the new body, with the CEI holding a trump card in being the only body at present empowered to award the title of Chartered Engineer (C Eng). The department wants that power to be ceded to the new council which would take over much of the present role of the CEI.

It remains to be seen whether the four main institutions can persuade the CEI as a whole to support a changed charter, although there is always a possibility of resignations by the four and a consequent drop in the CEI's already slim income.

For the CEI to give up awarding the C Eng title, a meeting of its total engineering membership would have to agree by a two thirds majority to charter changes.

If C Eng stayed with the CEI there are two possible options. One would be for the new council to adopt a new title—Registered Engineer—was suggested in the Finiston report on engineering—and the other would be for the institutions' individual variations of the Chartered Engineer title to be used, as in Chartered Electrical Engineering.

But Sir Keith, who previously appeared to be ready to wash his hands of the whole affair, may now be prepared to go ahead with the proposed Engineering Council without powers over the C Eng title.

The changes being put forward by the EEF and the four institutions give greater assurances of institutional involvement in the new body. But the most important change that membership of the institution would be regarded as the preferred route for anybody going on a new engineers' register.

Nor would direct registration with the new council, possible under a "conscience" clause, be allowed to be a cheaper alternative.

If the new initiative runs into difficulties, the Conservative group of trade unionists has asked to meet Sir Keith to put forward a plan drafted by Mr John Kapp, a consultant engineer who is a prominent member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers. This plan would rely on changes to the CEI itself, including making it independent of direct funding by institutions.

Lorrho may employ rare time-limit tactic in takeover move for House of Fraser

By Philip Robinson

Lorrho's formal document offering £150m for the House of Fraser, due at noon today, could contain a special and rarely-used takeover tactic which would give Fraser shareholders just 21 days to accept the £150m share offer.

If it does, some City financial institutions reckon that Lorrho will get control of Britain's biggest department store group, which owns Harrods.

Usually a bid runs to a first closing stage, after which the level of acceptance is disclosed, and then remains open for a further 14 days to allow more acceptances to come in. No offer can run for more than 60 days without the permission of the Takeover Panel.

The big institutions, traditionally late acceptors of a

takeover offer, normally use the first acceptance date to gauge the feeling among other shareholders and still have a fortnight during which to accept for themselves.

But the time clause would allow no one to test the temperature before deciding what to do. And in that case, at least one large institutional fund manager thinks Lorrho will win.

It has always been possible that Lorrho will walk into the stock market after its own shareholders' meeting approves the deal on March 4, and try to buy the 20 per cent it needs to gain control of Fraser.

But this could mean it will have to pay a large premium in the market over its own offer price and is then bound by the

takeover rules to make a general offer at the highest price paid for shares in the market.

A time limit could circumvent the need to raise the offer which some say could be as high as 180p.

The time clause is normally used in takeovers involving smaller companies where the predator wishes to retain the stock exchange quotation of the company it is buying. It is rarely used in a deal the size of the takeover of Fraser.

Mr Graham Walsh, director-general of the Takeover Panel, says no approval is needed from the panel to impose this clause, but the offer document must make it clear that the bid will be extended under any circumstances beyond the 21-day period.

Mr Walsh declined to reveal whether any big company had recently asked the panel's view on such a condition. S. G. Warburg, Fraser's merchant bank advisers, said: "We are aware of this possibility but we will have to wait for the document."

There are already reports that a leading Scottish stockbroker has recommended Fraser's private shareholders to sell half their shares in the stock market.

Meanwhile, Sir Hugh Fraser, deposed chairman, said in the presence of his solicitor at the weekend that he was likely to make a second statement to shareholders in about a fortnight, probably after release of the formal Fraser board defence document.

NEDO studying ways of boosting export contracts for Britain

By John Huxley

A six month investigation into how British companies can improve their performance in winning large overseas construction contracts is being prepared for the National Economic Development Office.

It is being carried out by Sir Albert (Archie) Lamb, Britain's former Ambassador to Norway, who was appointed by the building and civil engineering economic development committees to head an exports drive.

Sir Archie will be looking at three particular areas in which British shortcomings have been cited as a reason for its failure to win a larger share of overseas work. The criticized areas are project leadership, the role of the nationalized industries, and financial support, both from the Government and the City.

Although Sir Archie will not attempt to act as a catalyst in bringing together consortia to bid for overseas work, it is hoped he will suggest ways in which the traditional fragmentation of the British effort can be remedied.

His work is one of a number of initiatives being undertaken by the committees in an attempt



Sir Archie Lamb: looking at shortcomings of construction industry.

to seek out new, and strengthen performance in old, markets.

The need to do so is pressing. More than 275,000 construction workers are now out of work, and figures to be published later this week will show that

new orders, especially for public clients, slumped alarmingly in 1980.

Last week, members of the building committee had a stormy meeting with Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment, who was able to offer little prospect of an upturn in orders paid for from the public purse.

However, he was hopeful that there would be a revival in the depressed house building market, with the number of starts increasing by as much as 10 per cent over the next 12 months.

Meanwhile, two reports published today suggest that, while larger construction companies are weathering the recession successfully, they are often dependent on taking contracts at non-existent margins. They have also been able to pick up work by pushing down market for smaller contractors.

By contrast, the authors say that the smaller companies are now hiring "rock bottom" margins, and that they are often dependent on house building. The sector in 1980 reached its lowest level of starts in its peacetime year since the 1930s. "Building and Civil Engineering" (two volumes) £90 each. ICB, 100, Ranelagh, City Road, London EC1Y 1BD.

Enterprise zones under scrutiny

By Peter Hill

Detailed studies into the impact of enterprise zones in boosting industrial activity have been commissioned by the Government. It will be conducted by experts commissioned by the Department of the Environment over three years.

The consultants have been asked to identify which of the package of incentives being offered to companies setting up in the new zones has been the main influence.

Establishment of the zones was announced by Sir Geoffrey Howe, Chancellor, in his March Budget last year. They are seen by the Government as an experimental approach.

Since then 11 possible zones have been identified and are now the subject of discussion between the local authorities and the Department of the Environment. Possible sites include the lower Swansea Valley; Clydeside; Corby, Northamptonshire; Dudley, West Midlands; Hartlepool, Cleveland and the Isle of Dogs in London's docklands.

Monitoring of the enterprise zone experiment is being coordinated by Roger Tym and Partners, urban and land economists, working with three other concerns.

Companies which establish operations in enterprise zones will benefit from relaxation of planning requirements, exemptions from development land tax rates and 100 per cent capital allowances for industrial and commercial properties.

But its mineral water will be natural, bottled at source and unadulterated, as a new EEC regulation determines.

Mr Bradbrook says that the eventual product will be sparkling because 75 per cent of United Kingdom mineral water sales are in that category. The leader in the sparkling sector is the French Perrier brand which claims it has 40 per cent of the market, with Vichy and the British Ashbourne brands vying for second place. Another French brand, Evian, leads the still mineral water sector.

When Coca-Cola gets around to its launch, it will choose London as its initial target area.

David Hewson

Anglia to sell airtime for both radio and television

By Our Industrial Staff

The selling of airtime for both commercial television and radio may be on the brink of its biggest reorganization in a decade.

Anglia Television, the Norwich-based commercial group, is to set up its own marketing and sales subsidiary which will sell airtime for the station and other media.

TSW, which won the south of England television franchise from Southern, is understood to be considering setting up an airtime selling subsidiary along the lines of the Anglia scheme, and a number of other companies may follow.

Anglia's plans have not yet been made public, but there is speculation that the company is planning a regional sales system for commercial radio, the new Fourth Channel, and breakfast television.

It is also expected to look at the implications of a new commercial network beamed into the United Kingdom by satellite from Europe.

At the moment television and radio sales are conducted separately. Television com-

panies deal with advertisers individually except in two cases, the STAGS company which handles advertising for both radio and television in the Midlands, and the joint agreement between Yorkshire Television and Tyne Tees, both owned by Trident, on selling.

Local radio stations have opted to channel national sales through one of three national agencies.

But in a move which could have long-term repercussions for the industry, the STAGS scheme has been scrapped.

The possibility of a general sales facility for national advertisers interested in local radio but sold through regional television companies is thought to have attracted a number of radio stations.

It would also go some way towards stemming recent criticism from some large advertising agencies which have been unhappy with the way commercial radio is sold.

One constant complaint from national advertising agencies is that commercial radio lacks any real system of regional flexibility for advertisers.

Couriers seek right to carry overseas letters

By Patricia Tisdall

Independent courier companies are lobbying for the right to carry letters within the United Kingdom to or from overseas, at present prohibited under the Post Office monopoly.

They want a new sub-section inserted in clause 64 of the postal section of the Telecommunications Bill which is expected to be discussed in committee this week.

Representation has been made to Mr Kenneth Baker, Minister for Industry and Information Technology, by the Association of International Air

Courier Services and by individual companies.

Mr Baker is understood to be resisting the proposal on the grounds that it could mean that the statute would have to be amended each time that conditions altered.

The couriers have been told that the Government would prefer to exclude carriers of all "time sensitive" letters through an Order in Parliament under clause 66 of the Bill. This is the clause which permits the Secretary of State to suspend the Post Office monopoly.

In a statement on the monopoly last July, Sir Keith Joseph,

the Secretary of State for Industry, said that he intended to relax it to allow private operators to carry time sensitive or valuable mail provided they charged a high minimum fee which he considered should be initially fixed at a £1.

The courier companies, however, fear that their future expansion may be vulnerable to political changes as the order could be rescinded by a resolution of either House of Parliament.

International Messengers, one of the largest of the British-owned courier companies, has already acted on the promise

by opening the first of what it hopes will be a chain of private "postal" offices in London. At present it may legally handle only packets or parcels and not letters.

Mr Andrew Walters, managing director of the group, and one of the founders of the couriers' association has been lobbying for relaxation of the postal monopoly for some years.

He is not interested in competing with the Post Office but is interested in a way that will make the whole communications system internationally far more efficient and profitable.

Boeing could lose sales to Airbus consortium if loans are reduced

Export-Import Bank faces cuts in funding

By Our Industrial Staff

The White House Office of Management and Budget has proposed large cuts in the funding of the United States Export-Import Bank, although it has said in a Cabinet paper that because of this the Boeing Corporation could lose sales to the European Airbus consortium.

All preliminary loan commitments may have to be reviewed and Mr Art Oberster, a bank representative, said that one of the very biggest loans now pending for final authorization concerned £290m (£126.9m) that Boeing had sought to ensure that Ansett Airlines, the Australian company of which Mr Rupert Murdoch is a director, bought its aircraft rather than the European Airbus A300.

The Cabinet is believed to have approved the Budget Office's plans to cut lending in the present fiscal year by \$94m to \$4,500m and cut special discount loans from \$400m to \$200m.

Even bigger cuts have been approved for the next fiscal year, including full elimination of discount and guaranteed loan programmes.

Mr Oberster admitted that the proposed lending cuts would create difficulties as the bank had already committed \$2,200m this year. It had expected bigger funding, and had already made preliminary commitments of \$7,200m this year.

The bank provided a low rate of interest on the Ansett deal to ensure a Boeing sale,

causing controversy, but the Budget Office has now declared forcefully that there is no need for the United States to provide loan subsidies.

If the new chairman of the bank, who has not yet been named by the White House, but who is expected to be Mr William Middendorf, a friend of President Reagan, shares the Administration's view, bank loans with low interest rates may be given priority, first to be denied final authorization.

Alternatively, the bank might seek to reduce all preliminary commitments. Ansett sought final loan authorization in December and Mr Oberster said that a board decision was likely within four to six weeks.

The bank's board has had a negligible influence on the Cabinet decision to curb the bank's activities, as a new chairman has not yet been appointed and Mr John Moore, the incumbent, is a close friend of former President Carter with no White House power now.

The Budget Office said in its Cabinet paper that the damage done to United States business by cutting bank funding would not be great.

It did stress, however, that "the Boeing Corporation, which consumes the lion's share of the 42 per cent of Export-Import Bank direct loans that support aircraft sales, might lose sales to those instances

(roughly 20 to 30 per cent of Bank-Boeing activity) where Boeing competes head to head with subsidized foreign producers".

The paper said that subsidies did not really help exports but made no mention of the value of United States currency devaluations to American export growth, and suggested that the free enterprise system's energies were responsible for foreign sales growth.

The United States had a balance of payments surplus while all other industrial nations had deficits. United States export growth had been 7.6 per cent each year since 1973, while the growth of countries such as France, which subsidized exports heavily had been much less.

"The United States enters the 1980s in far better shape, in terms of international trade, than any of our competitors whose export policies have been held up as a model for United States action by those supporting continued high levels of Export-Import Bank activity", it said.

The Boeing Corporation's executives are expected to lobby hard in the Congress in opposition to the proposed bank cuts. Mr Oberster said that hearings on the bank's activities were likely in the next month, and discussion of controversial loans might feature prominently in hearings to confirm a new bank chairman.

Frank Vogl
in Washington

THE POUND

	Bank	Bank	Bank	Bank
	buys	buys	buys	buys
Australia \$	2.04	1.96		
Austria Sch	37.40	35.20		
Belgium Fr	8.00	80.00		
Canada \$	2.83	2.74		
Denmark Kr	16.10	15.30		
Finland Mk	9.88	9.78		
France Fr	11.35	11.45		
Germany DM	120.30	114.00		
Hong Kong \$	12.60	12.00		
Ireland Ir	1.40	1.34		
Japan Yen	252.00	240.00		
South Africa R	498.00	472.00		
Sweden Kr	2.83	2.74		
Switzerland Fr	16.10	15.30		
USA \$	9.88	9.78		
Yugoslavia Dnr	88.50	83.00		

	Bank	Bank	Bank	Bank
	buys	buys	buys	buys
Norway Kr	13.15	12.30		
Portugal Esc	134.50	128.00		
South Africa R	12.21	11.06		
Sweden Kr	20.50	19.50		
Switzerland Fr	11.13	10.58		
Switzerland Fr	4.77	4.54		
USA \$	2.35	2.28		
Yugoslavia Dnr	88.50	83.00		

	Bank	Bank	Bank	Bank
	buys	buys	buys	buys
Hates for anall	denominauon	bank		
notes	only,	as supplied		
Bank	for	the		
different	rates	apply to		
cheque	and	travellers'		
business.	foreign	currency		

MANAGEMENT

CCA—a case for evolution not revolution

Many finance directors, as well as others who followed the inflation accounting debate in the sixties and seventies, must have felt that they were in danger of drowning, not like the Duke of Clarence in a butt of malmsey wine, but in a sea of words.

With the issue of the Accounting Standard on Current Cost Accounting there was a sigh of relief that a sensible middle-of-the-road solution had been found and that people could concentrate on the practical problems facing their businesses. In a full gale sailors are more concerned with reefing the sails than measuring the exact force of the wind.

But some of those who have read recent correspondence and articles on CCA may have uttered a prayer for protection against the threat of drowning once more. What are the issues which cause some to want to plunge in once again?

At one extreme there are those enthusiasts who would have the accountants lead the charge to recapture British industry's leadership, bearing the CCA banner and trampling historical costs underfoot. At the other are those who say that CCA is a waste of time and should be quietly killed.

In the middle are those who believe neither extreme is justified. CCA cannot itself help revive industry nor, unless it is widely adopted internationally, is it sensible to abandon historic costs.

But this does not mean that CCA is useless. When flying low over rough terrain it is useful to have an altimeter which, in Keynes's phrase, approximately right rather than precisely wrong. Many companies will soon be publishing 1980 results including CCA accounts, prepared in accordance with the new standard. Analysis appears to be paying increasing attention to these and to the relationship between CCA earnings and dividends.

So they regard CCA as a waste of time. Martin Gibbs's article in *The Times* (January 12) suggests not.

So we have a standard which enables important information on company performance to be incorporated in the published accounts at reasonable cost. But the enthusiasm do their cause no good and reawaken sterile controversy by criticizing industry from outside for dilatory implementation of CCA in management accounts.

This is not mere conservatism, though that is no doubt a factor. There are practical problems too. For example, replacement cost is not always easy to

'Most of us are too busy fighting the battle for British industry to enjoy the battle of words. We have a workable accounting standard and it is sensible to test it in practice by parallel running over the next three years'

determine when technology is changing. Moreover, historic costs, imperfect as they are, when taken together with cash flow and other management information tell a good manager clearly enough for most purposes which businesses are in trouble.

Most flight engineers offered an entirely new type of instrument would prefer to fit it alongside the existing type rather than rip out the whole instrument panel—especially when flying in difficult conditions.

So a balanced view of CCA is that it has a role to play, but that we should progress by evolution not revolution. That is why the Hundred Group, representing the finance directors of many leading companies, welcomed the new accounting standard as a sensible step in the development of CCA.

Experience over the three-year period during which no major changes are to be made to the standard will show how useful it will be and how accounting techniques in the United States and elsewhere will evolve—a purely British solution is no use when trade and companies are becoming increasingly international.

There is little doubt, however, that CCA has suffered damage because the Inland Revenue has not adopted it as the basis for tax in the recent Green Paper on proposed changes in stock relief. It has been a principle of United Kingdom company taxation for 150 years that the assessment should be based on the company's own published accounts, yet it cannot be right to levy tax on historic profits swollen by stock appreciation.

So current cost accounts, adjusted, if necessary, by the use of approved indices for each industry to lessen subjectivity, would seem more logical than a stock relief adjustment on historic costs using a common

index for all types of stock from baked beans to copper.

Another problem which worries finance directors is the existence of two sets of accounts. It is not easy for the layman to appreciate how both can be true and fair even if clever wording of audit certificates makes this fiction plausible. For a limited period parallel running is tolerable while CCA is under trial and while its international development is watched. But in the long term, though double-entry is acceptable, two sets of figures are not.

It is in some ways that the British accounting profession and the Inland Revenue rejected with so little resistance the possible solution to these problems which might have given us inflation-adjusted accounts, one set of accounts, a workable basis for tax and compatibility with United States accounting conventions—LIFO (last in, first out) with accelerated depreciation. LIFO is a system of stock valuation which approximates replacement cost and is no more subjective than the British FIFO (first in, first out).

The Sandilands report recognized that it was the most widely used method of eliminating stock appreciation, yet dismissed it in a few paragraphs. It is allowed for tax in the United States and in South Africa.

LIFO has its problems. It can distort balance sheet values (though these could be adjusted), is not suited to every situation and can result in an over-statement of profits in a period of falling volume. But international harmonization of accounting conventions is important, so we should not ignore common practice in the United States.

Most of us are too busy fighting the battle for British industry to enjoy the battle of words. We have a workable accounting standard and it is sensible to test it in practice by parallel running over the next three years. We have that to demonstrate that it is a useful tool and to assess whether international harmonization is moving in the same direction. In the meantime, we will not be sorry when the editor says: "This correspondence is now closed."

Geoffrey Wilson
The author is deputy chief executive of Delta Metal, but writes in his capacity as chairman of The Hundred Group, which represents leading financial directors in industry and commerce.

No question that their answer was right

When Unipart's executives sat down, about a year ago, to rethink their marketing strategy, they cannot have had much idea of what they were starting. It is true that their brief was nothing less than to come up with ways of regenerating the style of the business, a 31 subsidiary and the country's biggest motor parts supplier, for the forthcoming decade; and that by the middle of the year someone was in one of the internal marketing team or someone from their advertising agency Satchi & Satchi—had crystallized a general but vague feeling that the company needed to be positive in its approach into the clever slogan: "The answer is yes. Now, what's the question?"



Mr. John Neill, managing director of Unipart; getting the message across.

The company of half a dozen professional actors and an equivalent number of dancing girls, to play to a nightly audience of hundreds?

This thespian adventure, just ended, started for Mr. Neill and his colleagues at the company's annual sales conference last November. The object of this exercise, conducted for the benefit of the heads of Unipart's 220-strong wholesale network, is to promote brand identity and to forecast future product campaigns.

Last year Unipart did it by means of a series of theatrical sketches, based on the preoccupations of the company and its distributors, interspersed with a series of song and dance routines inspired by the newly introduced national advertising slogan: "The answer is yes."

The response took the management by surprise. One

by one, and sometimes in clutches, the delegates came up to express enthusiasm and frustration in about equal parts. "Marvellous," they said. "A wonderful way of getting your message across. But how on earth am I going to describe it to the woman on the telephone switchboard when I get back to work?" And then: "Why don't you do a version for them, too?"

As it happens, this plea struck a chord with Mr. Neill. A tough guy in the mould of Sir Michael Edwards when it comes to industrial relations, he nevertheless strongly believes that his company's success is dependent on commitment from the whole of its own and its distributors' workforce. Spare parts, he says, are not bought on price, but have to be sold on service. He was all in favour of getting the message as far down the line as possible.

So the Unipart touring show went on the road four weeks later, for one-night stands at 17 towns and cities from Striling to Brighton. Local wholesalers were asked to come with all their staff, and such of their clients as they cared to invite, for an evening which takes in some 2½ hours of theatrical entertainment.

The production itself—professionally organized by Malcolm Mitchell & Associates—consists of a series of sketches on everything from the plight of the rejected salesman ("You tried to talk to him at the wrong time, Chris. Get him to give you an appointment instead") and the counter sales inhibitions over the razermatraz with which the company is promoting itself ("Well, these badges saying 'The answer is yes' are not very nice for a girl to go around wearing them, is it?") to its plans for future product promotion.

These are interspersed with occasional film (notably of union officials pledging their support for the Yes campaign), a great deal of witty singing and dancing. No one asked the audience (some 400 strong and well-mixed) at Brighton's Metropole Hotel whether they had enjoyed themselves, but the answer would certainly have been yes. And they could hardly have failed to get the message, too.

Mr. Neill and his colleagues are now about how much this exercise in communication has cost, though they point out that the production itself was devised anyway for the national sales conference. They have no doubt that it has been worthwhile—the fact that the first of the touring productions, for filters, has reached its sales target only half way through the campaign appears to justify this view.

Adrienne Gleeson

Cover for damage by radio-activity

From Mr. Richard Barr
Sir, Mr. P. J. Seaby (February 9) tells us that domestic and car policies do not cover damage caused by radio-activity because such damage is already covered by statutory provisions.

I am afraid that in so saying he is being a little misleading. The matter is covered by Section 18 of the Nuclear Insurance Act 1965 (as amended) and this provides for an absolute maximum of £50 million compensation in respect of any one "incident". Bearing in mind that the total damage caused by the Three Mile Island Accident was around £100 million it hardly seems sufficient.

Besides, if a claim is made under the Statutory Provisions it will be necessary to prove that the damage was caused by radio-activity from a particular nuclear plant. This could be very difficult in practice. It would be far better to allow us the freedom to make our insurance arrangements. I still cannot understand why insurance companies are so reluctant to cover the risk. Perhaps Mr. Seaby could tell us a little more.

Yours faithfully,
RICHARD BARR,
Mill House, Newton Road,
Castle Acre, King's Lynn,
Norfolk PE32 2AZ.

Performance of Canadian reactors

From Lord Bowden of Chesterfield
Sir, I am glad that Mr. Miller (February 10) has drawn the attention of your readers to the performance of the Hunterston reactor in Scotland. I am afraid that I overestimated the story in my own letter. The "league table" of the world's reactors to which I referred is restricted to the largest reactors in the world, those of 500 megawatts and above and in this table six out of the best seven were Canadian and three out of the worst ten were British. The Magnox reactors to which Mr. Miller refers, although they are very good, are not big enough to appear in this particular table.

Mr. Miller must have misread my letter if he thought that I was implying that our own reactors take twenty years to build. I was trying to suggest that we have been studying this design for more than twenty years and it is notoriously true that some of our nuclear power stations have taken a very long time to build. Four of the CANDU reactors were a few months late on schedule and four were finished ahead of schedule. I am afraid we have never been able to do anything like that.

May I repeat the point I was trying to make. The Canadian reactors have been the most reliable in the world almost ever since they have been built. I think that I am right in saying that the Pickering station has generated more power than any other nuclear station in the world. I cannot understand why the CEBG has wilfully ignored this design in spite of the fact that the power it has produced is so much cheaper than any to be had in this country. I think it is most important that reliable figures for the comparative costs of electricity in this country and in Ontario should be published officially so that the public will realize how much we are paying for the policies which the CEBG are now advocating.

I do not believe that the enormous investment in Windscale will ever pay for itself. I doubt very much if the fast breeder reactor will ever be made to work and I think that the whole of our nuclear policy should be reconsidered much as the Americans reconsidered theirs a few years ago. They made very fundamental changes. I think we should do the same.

Yours sincerely,
VIVIAN BOWDEN,
"Pine Croft",
5 Stanhope Road,
Bowdon,
Altrincham,
Cheshire WA14 3BL.

Political forecasting

From Mr. H. F. Robert Perrin
Sir, Anthony Hilton's article (February 10) on the problem of measuring political risk is very apposite. As a sample of chief executives of large companies, either in the United Kingdom or overseas, what they perceive as the greatest hazards they face and the most common answer is legislative or political change.

Ask what they do about anticipating such changes and you will usually be greeted with the old reply that they cannot be forecast and hence nothing can be done about it. Significantly, in a recent survey of European business schools, this gap between the agreed critical importance yet total void in teaching techniques to forecast in this field was noted in all but one of the leading schools.

Economic, technical and social changes have also proved difficult environmental factors to forecast—yet much has been done in each of these areas in

recent years. Certainly, political and legislative forecasting is difficult, but techniques and tools are being slowly developed in this field and are proving invaluable. "It is better to light a small candle than sit and curse the darkness."

Above all, management can do a lot to measure risks and take steps to hedge against them. For example, the Decision Analysis approach, if properly applied, is particularly suitable for use when management must operate in a high risk environment. By being better able to handle risk, management can turn it to their competitive advantage rather than see it always only as a threat.

Yours faithfully,
H. F. ROBERT PERRIN,
Director,
SRI International, London,
(Formerly Stanford Research Institute),
NLA Tower,
12/16 Addiscombe Road,
Croydon CR0 0NT.

Railway electrification

From Professor G. Ronald Bainbridge
Sir, Substitution for oil with energy forms having greater future resource strength and price stability is a recognized energy conservation objective for all industrial countries. Further electrification of British Railways is therefore to be welcomed even if it does not reduce energy consumption. Nuclear fuels and coal are plentiful and production is a stable export.

Rising fuel oil prices, pollution and noise may yet cause reversion of inner city transport to electric traction. Then, assuming rapid on/off loading

systems are developed to ease growing congestion of motorways, substantial transfer of long distance goods and passenger traffic to electric railways becomes logical.

All of these electricity for oil substitutions involve modest government financial investments by military, British Steel and British Leyland injection standards. Importantly, they set positive work in progress with undoubted equipment export potential.

Yours faithfully,
G. RONALD BAINBRIDGE,
Professor of Energy Studies,
University of Newcastle upon Tyne,
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU.

Public and Educational Appointments

St John's School, Leatherhead
HMC for 440 boys boarding and day.
Ages 13-18

PHYSICS
A graduate will be required in September 1981 to teach physics at all levels in a lively department with good facilities. Accommodation is available. Any help with extra curricula activities would be welcome. Apply to the Headmaster (Leatherhead 72021) with curriculum vitae and names and addresses of two referees.

BRUNEL UNIVERSITY

Administrative Assistant IA
Applications are invited from graduates for an Administrative Assistant to work in the Centre for Continuing Education. It is expected that the appointment will be made initially in the Registry to undertake duties associated with the administration of the School of Social Sciences.

Salary will be on the Administrative TA scale £4,795-£9,595 per annum (under review), plus 26% year-end Allowance.

Write for application form and further details to the Personnel Secretary, Brunel University, Middlesex, UB8 3PH or telephone Uxbridge 37188 extension 49. Closing date: 4 March 1981.

The Queen's University of Belfast
TEMPORARY LECTURESHIP IN SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

This post, arising from the retirement of a senior lecturer, will be available for 1981-82. Candidates must be able to teach social philosophy at introductory and honours levels.

Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

University of Birmingham
DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC
PART-TIME HAYWOOD RESEARCH ASSOCIATESHIP/ FELLOWSHIP

Applications are invited for the Haywood Research Associateship/Fellowship in Music for one year from 1 October 1981. The successful applicant will pursue his/her own programme of research or composition and provide some teaching assistance. Consideration will be given to all applicants (interest) and qualifications. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM
LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of University Librarian. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

Westminster Cathedral Choir School
ASSISTANT HOUSEMASTER

Required in September to teach two subjects to P.S.S. level from Latin, History, Geography and Maths with some religious studies. Extending School with twelve mixed department. Burnham estate. Free board and accommodation in term. Full salary and pension. Please write for full details to Headmaster, Westminster Cathedral Choir School, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL
HORSHAM, SUSSEX

Required for September 1981 (a) an Honours graduate to teach French and Russian, (b) an Honours graduate to teach French. The Modern Language Department is a large and expanding Department with a strong academic tradition. The appointments advertised envisage the possibility of advanced work for suitable candidates.

Christ's Hospital is an independent charitable foundation with boarding accommodation for 820 boys. By 1985 it will have become co-educational.

Applications, with curriculum vitae and the names of two referees to: The Head Master, Christ's Hospital, Horsham, Sussex, RH13 7LS.

SOLIHULL SCHOOL
BURSAR

Applications are invited for the post of BURSAR and CLERK to THE GOVERNORS at Solihull School.

Full details are available from the Clerk to the Governors, Solihull School, Solihull, West Midlands, B91 3DJ.

The University of Lancaster
RESEARCH ASSISTANT IONOSPHERIC PHYSICS

A physics graduate with good honours degree and interested in upper atmosphere research is required to work on a study of the ionosphere. The research is based on measurements by the ionospheric group of the Environmental Sciences Department and will be for three years, starting April 1981, or so soon as possible. The starting salary will be on research scale 18, £4,795 per annum (under review), plus 26% year-end Allowance. Further particulars may be obtained by quoting reference 12001 from the Establishment Officer, University House, Bailrigg, Lancaster, LA1 4YW, to whom applications (three copies), naming two referees, should be sent not later than 11 March 1981.

Lincoln College
DARBY FELLOWSHIP IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The College invites applications for a Darby Fellowship in English Language and Literature. The Fellowship is for two years, starting from 1st October 1981. Applicants should normally be under 28 years of age and have a first class honours degree in English Language and Literature. Further particulars may be obtained from the Director of Studies, Lincoln College, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH, to whom applications (three copies), naming two referees, should be sent not later than 11 March 1981.

Lady Eden's School, Kensington
FORM MISTRESS

Required for April 1981. A trained experienced teacher for 10-year-old girls. Ability to teach Mathematics, modern and traditional languages, and to supervise the school choir. London Borough of Kensington. Salary £5,500-£6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation. Please write for full details to Headmaster, Lady Eden's School, Kensington, London W8 5NL.

BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY

Applications are invited from graduates for an Assistant General Secretary to the British Council of Churches. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the council and will be expected to develop the council's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

WANTED
ENGLISH TEACHERS
KNOWLEDGE AND ELEMENTARY GRADES FOR PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
Write: Lynda Franco, 3261 Overland Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90034, USA

Southampton THE UNIVERSITY
TEMPORARY LECTURESHIP IN SPANISH

Applicants are invited for a temporary lectureship in Spanish to replace Mr. F. J. Lambourne for the session 1981-82. Applicants should possess qualifications suitable for contributing to the course on Nineteenth and Twentieth century Spanish and Spanish American literature, and for giving classes in Spanish language.

Applications (seven copies) should be submitted to Mrs. E. C. P. Sear, Staffing Department, The University of Southampton, Southampton SO9 0NH by 4 March 1981 quoting reference 717/A.

TUTOR GOVERNORS

Required immediately for minimum one year. Qualified teachers, minimum 18 years of experience, boy resident overseas. Must have flexible outlook, enjoy travel and have a clear vision of the school.

Salary depending upon qualifications and experience will be on the Grade 12 scale £4,795 to £9,595 (under review). Further details may be obtained from the Registrar, University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester LE1 7RH, to whom completed applications, should be returned by 11 March 1981.

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA
TEMPORARY LECTURESHIP IN DRAMA

In the School of English and American Studies, candidates are invited to apply for a temporary lectureship in drama. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the department and will be expected to develop the department's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

Trinity College, Oxford
LECTURESHIP IN LAW

The College proposes to appoint a Lecturer in Law for a period of 12 months, starting from 1 October 1981. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the department and will be expected to develop the department's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

University College London
LECTURESHIP/READER IN THE HISTORY OF LONDON

Applications are invited for a Lectureship/Reader in the History of London. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the department and will be expected to develop the department's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

The University of Hull
CHAIR OF LAW

Applications are invited for a Chair of Law. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the department and will be expected to develop the department's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

University of Nottingham
LECTURESHIP IN AGRONOMY

Applications are invited for a Lectureship in Agronomy. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the department and will be expected to develop the department's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

RUGBY SCHOOL
CHAPLAIN

The School seeks to appoint a Chaplain for September, 1981. Accommodation available. Applicants should write with curriculum vitae and the names of two referees to:

The Head Master,
Rugby School,
Rugby, Warwickshire.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER
Microprocessor Applications Unit

Applications are invited from graduates or from those with other appropriate qualifications for the post of Experimental Officer. The Unit is a new unit established to strengthen the teaching of the applications of microelectronics, microprocessors, and microcomputing within the University. It is expected that the Unit will be self-sufficient and will be able to provide a wide range of services to the University and to the public.

Salary depending upon qualifications and experience will be on the Grade 12 scale £4,795 to £9,595 (under review). Further details may be obtained from the Registrar, University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester LE1 7RH, to whom completed applications, should be returned by 11 March 1981.

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX
SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY
LECTURESHIP IN CONTROL ENGINEERING

Applications are invited for a Lectureship in Control Engineering. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the department and will be expected to develop the department's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

RECORD CO.
OFFICE MANAGER/ESS
circa £7,500

West End Record Co. require a competent, experienced office manager/ess to manage the day-to-day running of the company. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the company and will be expected to develop the company's services. Salary will be in the range £5,500 to £6,500 per annum (under review) with superannuation.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT1 1NN, Northern Ireland. Closing date: 16 March 1981. Please enclose curriculum vitae and names of two referees.

C. S. PERSONNEL CONSULTANTS

Specialist recruitment services for all levels of management and professional staff. Please write for details to: C. S. Personnel Consultants, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

PETROLEUM ENGINEERS
Production, Refining, Marketing, Research and Development. Salary and family status considered. Please write for details to: Petroleum Engineers, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

LEGAL APPOINTMENTS
Solicitors wanted for new partnership in Cambridge City. Write for details to: Legal Appointments, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

EDUCATIONAL
THE TIMES is running a full page advertisement in Education/Science section for details. Please write for details to: Educational, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

DOMESTIC AND CATERING SITUATIONS
I have several seasonal vacancies for top class chefs, housekeepers, gardeners, etc. Write for details to: Domestic and Catering Situations, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

REQUIRED
Solely recruit position on part time basis. Please write for details to: Required, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

DOMESTIC AND CATERING SITUATIONS
EXCELLENT COOK/HOUSEKEEPER

Required Central London area and may, impeccable qualifications and references. Reply with full details to: Box 2713 The Times.

AU PAIR ITALY

Young lady aged approx. 20 required to work in a children's home in Italy. Salary £10 per week plus expenses. Please write for details to: Box 2714 The Times.

JOHN MORGAN TRAVEL
Following staff for this summer season:
French speaking representative for France
French speaking representative for Corsica
French speaking super-cook and housekeeper for 12 people. Please telephone Averil or Jenny 499 1911

TUTOR/COMPANION
Tutor/Companion wanted for a foreign born boy aged 7 years. This child, who speaks English, is preparing for the primary school examination. Immediately, the circumstances of the family are such that the tutor/companion would be most appropriate. The London S.W.11 and be expected to travel with the family.

APPLY TO 7 REGENCY TERRACE, ELM PLACE, LONDON SW1V 2PL. TELEPHONE NUMBER FOR CONTACT, IF POSSIBLE.

BLACK MOUNTAINS WALES
Managerial post for girl/young lady. Accommodation provided. Please write for details to: Black Mountains Wales, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

YOUNG PERSON required
Summer from 1981 to help in the management of a small business. Please write for details to: Young Person required, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

AU PAIR Rumania
World's largest au pair agency. Write for details to: Au Pair Rumania, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

HELP
Wanted for a girl/young lady. Accommodation provided. Please write for details to: Help, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

MAINTENANCE
Wanted for a girl/young lady. Accommodation provided. Please write for details to: Maintenance, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

COMPLE
Wanted for a girl/young lady. Accommodation provided. Please write for details to: Comple, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

REQUIRE
Wanted for a girl/young lady. Accommodation provided. Please write for details to: Require, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

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Wanted for a girl/young lady. Accommodation provided. Please write for details to: Require, 100 Victoria Road, London SW1P 1QH.

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BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

MLR will be cut, but by how much?

Since the Government seems to have decided to hold back any further cut in interest rates until the Budget, money markets and the gilt-edged market are going to have to be patient. Nevertheless, the main point of speculation in the run-up to the Budget on March 10 is going to be the extent of the likely cut in minimum lending rate—1 per cent or 2 per cent?

The Government could go straight for a per cent cut, even if that means no further reduction for several months. With the underlying rate of inflation already well into single figures, the cost of borrowing is excessively high in real terms for this particular point in the economic cycle.

On the other hand the authorities very ten prefer smaller and more frequent cuts in MLR to keep investors' appetites whetted in the gilt-edged market. Judging by recent experience, the funding requirement in the second quarter of the new financial year would be quite heavy, particularly if the Government is not to see its second attempt at monetary control move off to a shaky start.

Reducing MLR more slowly than one might otherwise do simply for the sake of ailing gilts is, however, a less than satisfactory strategy. If necessary the Government should accept a steeper yield curve and be prepared to be more flexible and aggressive in its marketing of gilts. sterling shows any further signs of weakness, it will have no choice in the matter.

Thus Midland will have been harder hit than Barclays which benefited from its international spread and where buoyant business conditions in South Africa must have made an important contribution.

National Westminster is well spread internationally, but its strength lies more in wholesale banking and the recent lacklustre results from the National Bank of North America do not auger well. Lloyds Bank will be benefiting from its international business but probably to a far lesser extent than Barclays.

For this year—leaving aside any possible horrors in the Budget—the outlook on profits cannot be good. Costs will rise less fast, but this is likely to be more than offset by other factors.

Lower interest rates will probably lead to wider margins but this is not likely to be enough to keep up profitability. Then loan demand is likely to be well down.

But if sterling falls the overseas contribution will be greater and hire purchase and leasing subsidiaries will benefit from lower interest rates.

Even though yields remain relatively high ranging from 6 to nearly 9 per cent—and will go higher still—and the p/e ratios are low—below 5 on average—the shares are unlikely to outperform the market for the year as a whole though there may well be bright moments—for example, if the Budget excludes special tax provisions.

leaving banks after the party

Meanwhile, clearing bank shares have been usually depressed just ahead of the 1980 results season. In spite of a small rise earlier last week they stand close to a year's "low" relative to the rest of the market.

This is not simply because results are expected to be poor. That much has already been discounted. It is more a case of "ebbing about the renewed tax on dividend" profits and sombre mutterings about the potential for this year. On the other score the auguries are none too bright. All this is reflected in the analysis of Quilter, Hilton Goddison's analysts far and away the most pessimistic both in the short and long-term. At the other end of the scale Greenwell's people commend aggressive buying. James Capel re some of the pessimism but are still in on the shares because in the longer term they see good prospects for the sector. far there has not been much of a two-way with most institutional investors staying the sidelines waiting for the figures and, as important, the Budget.

piralling bad debts—which appeared in shock interim results are likely to persist the second half. Business conditions have

Brewers After two decades of growth...

Once favoured for their defensive qualities, brewery shares have underperformed the stock market average by 18 per cent showing scarcely a spark of life since the majors reported on the summer season around November.

This dramatic downrating is even more remarkable considering that unlike many areas of industry, profits had not fallen sharply and dividends were held or increased.

What is recognized is that brewers have reached the end of an era. After two decades of growth in which beer consumption rose at a compound rate of over 2½ per cent a year, the tide turned last May as consumers cut back sharply on beer drinking which for most of last year was rising in price much faster than other consumer products.

Aggravated by de-stocking, beer output tumbled by 7.6 per cent in the last eight months of 1980 and the brewers expect an 8.5 per cent drop in the present fiscal year.

Expansion in the seventies, particularly in larger capacity, was based on projections of existing growth rates and the present overcapacity—worst in ale production—and has already led to brewery closures with Allied Breweries last week announcing the shut-down of its strike-hit Ansell's brewery in Birmingham.

With plenty of spare capacity for higher lager production which is expected to continue rising from around 30 to nearer 40 per cent of the total market, it is hard to see any new greenfield-site breweries like Whitbread's Magor or Courage's Reading plant being built for many years to come and indeed capital investment has been trimmed back by the industry.

Until duty increases in the Budget of perhaps 2p to 3p are out of the way and the brewers have reported on a miserable winter, the sector is unlikely to show any sustained improvement. However dividends still look safe (though Allied could prove an exception if the Ansell's closure leads to more industrial relations problems) and brewery results should compare reasonably well with other industries even though profits will be lower.

Thereafter the big question is what happens to beer consumption. No one expects a return to the late forties and fifties when consumption fell by over a quarter in 13 years. But nor will there be a sharp recovery: the industry is forecasting a static 1981, and while a hot summer would come to the rescue, the shares are best left alone on the short to medium view.

BANK PROFITS			
	1979	1980	1981
Clays	529	530.7	536.6
ds	277	240	239
land	316	225.8	250
west	442	415.6	431.8

elaborated and given rise to higher charges than doubtful debts, but also banks are likely to make large unspecified general provisions.

This should indicate how much the banks are helping ailing companies well over prudential limits. For the year as a whole estimates of bad debts of the clearers from about £300m to £500m. On the assumption that they reach £360m, a reasonable average figure, they would be 2½ times those of 1979 and represent the equivalent of more than 20 per cent of total fits of the major banks.

anks that are more involved with industry are going to be hit hardest. Those with a better international spread and more diversified business will tend to do better.

Margaret Coffey reports on the experience of some American companies

Beware—computer at work

Small businessmen are so bemused by the mystique that surrounds computers that they fail to apply the same standards to buying equipment that they would to other areas of their operations

New York

Quality Books Inc., a small publishing house near Chicago, decided three years ago that it was time to get a computer to run its business. But automation did not have quite the effect that the people at Quality expected.

A year after the computer had been installed the company was operating with three times as many office staff and working 18 hours a day instead of eight and seven days a week instead of five. When it was forced to hire temporary typists to catch up on invoices which had not been sent out for seven weeks, it turned its computer off and began to use its manufacturer.

"After a year we couldn't take it any more and they couldn't fix it," reads Mr. Anthony Leimer, Quality's general manager. "We were getting further and further behind with our high speed computer."

Quality Books experience is not unique—neither is the remedy it is seeking. The company is one of a growing number of small American businesses which are taking their computer suppliers to court.

"Computer litigation is the fastest growing segment of the computer business," says Mr. Dick Brandon, a New York management consultant. "Experts estimate that there are more than 500 computer cases working their way through the American legal system, compared with 50 six years ago. By 1985, he predicts, the figure will have risen to 5,000."

Several factors are behind this surge of legal activity. Computers have only recently reached small businesses in large numbers. Because these companies cannot absorb losses as easily as larger concerns, they often have no choice but to sue when a machine in which they have invested thousands of dollars does not meet their expectations.

Also, many small businessmen are so bemused by the mystique which surrounds computers that they fail to apply the same standards to buying computer equipment that they would to other areas of their business.

"Too many people are awed by the whole thing," says Mr. Joseph Auer, president of a Florida consultancy called International Computer Negotiations. "They just go ahead and sign a form of agreement that doesn't protect them."

Mr. Robert Thonen, president of "Wheeling, Hearing, Co.", a small heating and air conditioning company in West Virginia, bought his first computer from a leading manufacturer eight years ago. He claims that he is still trying to recover from his mistake. His computer had ended up costing \$13,000 (about £5,000) instead of the \$14,000 that he had expected. Most of the surplus came from building a new room for the machine—something that he says salesmen told him would not be necessary.

Mr. Thonen says that the computer's excessive charges on incorrect invoices and bills. Now it is sitting in his back room, while he awaits the start of a case in which he is alleging that the computer was

responsible for a drop in turnover from \$834,000 to \$410,000 in a year and a half.

He is suing the manufacturer (which he denies the charges against it) for \$25m in actual damages and nearly \$30m in punitive damages.

"We're back to the way we were with pencil sharpener, pencil and pad," he says, "and as far as that particular computer goes, it is about a 100 years faster and a lot more accurate."

The fact that businessmen may be unwary buyers is, not the only reason why they run into trouble with their computers. Experts believe that in many cases computer companies take advantage of the customer's lack of knowledge to sell them a computer that is too small or in some other way unsuitable for the work required.

Mr. Arthur Goodman alleges that this is what happened when he bought a computer to automate the book-keeping at his telephone answering company in Manhattan. "No way in the world was the particular machine that I was sold going to do the job that I had described to the company before I bought it," he says.

Mr. Goodman claims that when he bought the computer, the manufacturer told him that

it would have him money. "When it came down to it, it not only didn't save me money, but suddenly I had four people working on billing instead of three and it was taking 12 to 14 days to get the bills out instead of ten."

Cases such as this, which may or may not have involved some sort of misrepresentation, have prompted lawyers to attempt to get the notion of computer malpractice—similar to legal and medical malpractice—accepted in court. "Computer professionals undertake to do a job, but in so doing they often do not do their responsible," professionals," according to Mr. Thomas Christo, a New Hampshire lawyer who handles only computer cases.

Once lawyers overcome their own fears of the jargon surrounding computers, says Mr. Christo, they find "that traditional common law is more than adequate to afford remedies to aggrieved users."

Indeed, some cases have already been decided in favour of the small computer user. A judge in the New Jersey Superior Court has recently ruled in favour of Charles Systems Inc., when that company alleged that the computer it had bought from NCR failed entirely to do what it

had been bought to do. An appellate court is still determining the amount of damages to be paid. But the company's lawyer believes that the award will be significantly more than the \$40,000 which the company paid for the machine.

Such decisions lead lawyers who practise computer law to believe that, as more cases are tried, and the limits of the law are stretched to include new technological computer companies will find more constraints on their business practices than they have in the past. "We are looking at a market that is going to be devastating to computer vendors," says Mr. Barrett Kelly, the attorney for Charles Systems.

Computer companies themselves do not seem to be particularly worried by this prospect. The market leader, International Business Machines, says that it has not noticed any increase in the number of cases brought by small users. A spokesman described the number of such cases against the company as "so small as to be insignificant."

Lawyers at NCR took a similar position, noting that "the United States is a very litigious country."

The computer companies are in a strong position. It has small computer users, but computer sellers more than it hurts the computer companies to be sued.

Charles, for instance, has on Mr. Kelly's estimate spent \$100,000 on its case and has yet to see any money in return. What is more, even the most badly hurt computer user comes back to computers sooner or later.

Quality Books is using a computer through a time-sharing service. Mr. Goodman has already bought another system and Mr. Thonen expects to buy another computer as soon as his company recovers financially from the impact of the first.

David Blake

Why government borrowing is going adrift

The Treasury looks like getting its sums wrong to the tune of nearly £5,000m this year in its estimate of public borrowing. This is not much more than the amount of borrowing committed to the Treasury last year, because the figures are turning out much higher than forecast last year.

But even more disturbing is the cause of this mistake. For it is now clear that it is excess expenditure which is largely to blame for the extra borrowing and much of this extra spending is not simply the financing of unemployment costs. The recession is putting the system for controlling spending of all kinds under severe strain. The volume of spending was expected to fall this year, not rise.

In November, the Chancellor said that public borrowing would be £11,500m not £8,500m and that more than £1,500m of this would be caused by the recession being deeper than expected. It is now clear that the present estimate for this year's borrowing is £13,000m and that only a small amount of the shortfall is accounted for by a drop in tax receipts (from indirect taxes).

If we make allowances for the recessionary effects that the Chancellor spoke of in November and make a further adjustment for lost tax revenue, it looks likely that there may be £2,000m, or slightly more, of spending above government plans which is not explained by the recession in the conventional sense.

How has this happened at a time when there is a system of

cash limits designed to keep spending down? One answer to this question is that much spending by the public sector is not subjected to cash limits. There are not much more than a few hundred million pounds in this category.

The classic example of the first kind is unemployment pay, where no cash limit can be set because the amount of spending is not under the Government's control. It has to spend enough to meet the demand which in turn is determined by the level of unemployment. Benefits generally escape the cash limit net and have risen more sharply than expected because the recession has been worse than expected.

Although there might be criticism about the assumptions which were used in drawing up the Treasury's forecast at the time of the Budget, there is no reasonable way to avoid this sort of problem. Extra spending of this kind would be bound to occur under any system of spending control. This is the impact of recession of which the Chancellor spoke.

Nor, in a different way, is there any way to avoid the fact that the Government could have done about the other important area where it has no control through its cash limits system—the local authorities. These seem certain to spend more than the Government would have them to on their current accounts.

Even the new "block grant" system would not prevent this happening, though it looks likely to cause a fair amount of havoc in the process of failing to do so. It is possible to

argue that the Government's figures at the time of the last Budget were unrealistic, and should have been higher. But there is not much more that could have been done over the past year to force local authorities to hold their spending down.

This kind of overspending is only part of the problem. For the problems of the economy are putting very severe pressure on the cash limits system, the main system for keeping spending in check. In the process, a lot of the rules which seemed to have been established in recent years are being questioned.

For the private sector has responded to its severe problems in the past year by leaning more heavily than before on the Government as customer. Deliveries have been speeded up and bills have been sent in earlier.

Work for which is used to take many months to find a contractor is now mapped out very quickly. In the process, spending departments are going much closer to their cash limits than anyone expected. We shall not know the end of the financial year whether they are going to come close to breaking these limits or whether they

will actually break through them.

The one area where there is clear evidence is in defence, where the cash limits have been changed because it became obvious last year that the old limit was not going to be observed.

The Defence Department was forced to impose a moratorium on orders, to freeze the extent to which it looked likely to overspend. This in part reflected the strong feeling in the Treasury that no real effort was being made to hold down the rate at which money was being spent. Treasury officials make no secret of their view that their counterparts at the defence department are a lot better at fighting battles in Whitehall than they are at limiting expenditure.

But this is a defence which could equally well be used in favour of planning for increased spending. The Government is right to say that it is not worried by those aspects of public borrowing which are growing because of the recession. But the growth in borrowing caused by other factors is a different matter. It is that the volume of spending this year is turning out to be

much higher than the Government expected. In drawing up its plans at the time of the last Budget, it assumed that about £1,300m of present prices could be deducted from projected spending because of "shortfall", the tendency of spending ministries not to use all the room for spending which they have allowed themselves.

Does it all matter? There are some good aspects of the present situation. Private industry would be in even worse state if the public sector had found a way of slowing down its receipt of goods to hold to the planned spending levels. If there had been no recession, the expected pace of the bankruptcies would have been more frequent and the unemployment would have been higher.

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Helping new businesses get off the ground

Just as the town of St Helens is synonymous with the glass industry and Pilkington Bros, so the Wirral area of Merseyside—on the Cheshire bank of the Mersey—is indelibly identified with Unilever.

The two industrial giants now have something else in common. Since both are involved in similar, but nevertheless unique, ventures to tackle the economic problems in the areas that for years they have tended to dominate.

In the glass town Pilkington was the prime mover in the establishment of the Community of St Helens Trust, an organization which already has a record of success in attracting new business ventures to the town and helping existing ones to expand.

Now Unilever has joined forces with the local authority and the Wirral Chamber of Commerce in setting up a company—with the singularly appropriate name of In Business Ltd—to do the same sort of thing in its own area. In Business is now truly "in business" because it was formally launched a few days ago. It operates from premises provided by the local authority—a former caretaker's flat in a school building which is being vacated by the North Wirral College of Technology at Birkenhead.

The company is headed by Mr. Paul Farrow, a former Unilever senior executive. He says that although a number of private and public organizations already exist to attract companies to Merseyside and encourage new enterprises, the founders of In Business believe that a joint approach by established industry, the local authority and business interests will give a new dimension to these efforts.

The aim will be to help to create a healthy small business sector in the local community. A wide range of expertise

from within Unilever, associated companies and other businesses will be available to help potential entrepreneurs draw up their plans and get started. The company will also advise businessmen and women who are contemplating expansion.

Mr. Farrow says: "There is obviously a very bad unemployment problem on the Wirral. Birkenhead, for instance, had an unemployment rate of 15.5 per cent. We are under no illusions that we can wave a magic wand and solve that problem, but there are ways in which we can help."

"We want to foster and encourage the growth of new and existing small businesses. But we also want to help create a climate that is conducive to this by providing the facilities for an exchange of ideas."

Ultimately In Business will take over the whole of the school building and turn it into a small business centre designed to serve as a focal point for business activity in the Wirral area. It will offer conference and meeting facilities, an exhibition area and several small office units and workshops that will be let.

Mr. Farrow says: "We recognize that one of the major problems confronting new business is finding suitable accommodation. By offering help in the form of office space, typing and a telephone answering service, we will be able to give practical help to fledgling organizations."

"The small business man or woman often leads an isolated

life, perhaps working up to 12 hours a day, and another attraction of the centre will be the opportunity for the new business fraternity to share views and experiences and keep up to date with the latest developments."

It is hoped that the centre will be fully operational by the autumn.

In Business will cooperate closely with the banks and other financial institutions as part of the process of keeping the money flowing in touch with appropriate sources.

The company also hopes to encourage large companies and organizations in the area to examine ways in which their own commercial policies can help small businesses.

In Business's board consists initially of Mr. Don Perry, chairman, from Unilever; UK Holdings, Mr. N. P. Dadd, (UML Ltd), Mr. I. G. Holt (Wirral Borough Council) and Mr. S. L. Jones (Wirral Chamber of Commerce).

Mr. Perry insists that "we are not a bank or a finance house. We will not be investing in, or attempting to run, businesses."

But besides providing £50,000 a year—matched by a similar sum from the local authority—to finance the company's day-to-day operations, Mr. Farrow insists that it will make available a so far unspecified sum to provide "pump priming" capital loans for new or expanding ventures.

Mr. Farrow will be concentrating on the Wirral area in his attempts to attract potential enterprises and individuals with "a good idea." He has a trained nose. One of his many executive posts with Unilever was a ten-year stint as sales manager and marketing manager for what Unilever likes to call its "fragrance" company, Proprietary Perfumes at Ashford.

R. W. Shakespeare

Business Diary profile: The Corporation of London

City of London is two cities. It is the centre of financial and business interests that draw 360,000 people to it each day during the day, after they go home, it is a residential area housing 10,500 of them in the Barbican.

The City also has a twin of government under the 11 Mayor, at present Sir Alderman Gardner Thorpe—the current Lord Mayor and modern local authority of Court of Common Council.

The City is the oldest authority in the country, dating back to the days of Alfred the Great, and it faithfully carries its traditions. Through the 11 Mayor it retains enormous influence in its City's social and financial activities.

Behind the pomp, though, is a growing feeling of unease about the City's government—that its refusal to reform itself represents a real threat to its survival in the 21st century.

The City Corporation claims it is misrepresented and, on occasions, that it is no longer the City.

But from the start that Mrs. Edwina Coven was first rejected by the Court of Aldermen in 1973, the winning her ward vote system of elections in the City has been called into question. Now the news that some of those entitled to vote in elections may vote not once but often (three times in fact) has raised the brows of many observers of the corporation, who were wary of it.

After Mrs. Coven had been elected twice, she stood down



The crumbling facade of Guildhall, ejecting Donald Silk and Edwina Coven before a disgruntled audience of City businessmen.

In favour of Christopher Leaver. He was elected in his ward with just two votes cast, then to be approved by the Court of Aldermen.

The next aldermanic candidate to be rejected as "unsuitable" after winning his election was Donald Silk, who attempted in vain to have the veto declared invalid by the High Court.

It is an irony that, had Mrs. Coven been admitted to the Court of Aldermen, it is very likely that she would now

add up to £10,000 of their own to the allowance of £13,000.

It is the multiple vote which is latest in the line of customs bringing the City a bad name. Under this, partners in firms with more than one office in the City can vote in each of the wards in which their offices stand.

Thus partners in the firm of Coopers and Lybrand, chartered accountants, can—and did—vote in three wards in the recent elections to the Court of Common Council.

For some candidates it makes the difference between victory and defeat and was probably so in the case of Silk in his third attempt to become an alderman in April last year.

An internal view of the City franchise is under way as a result of growing pressure, but there is a feeling among the business interests that they—while most of the City's revenue—should have some say through the ballot box in the conduct of the affairs of the City in which they operate.

The fact is that 95 per cent of the City's rates are paid by limited companies, more than 99 per cent by businesses and just 0.3 per cent by the domestic ratepayers, out of a total income of £216m. Of that, the Inner London Education Authority takes £121m, the Greater London Council £47m and £3m goes to the boroughs' rate equalization fund, leaving £45m for the City, most of which goes on the City police and the Barbican.

Where does the power lie? There is an old boys' network operating in certain of the largest companies and in the Court of Aldermen and they wield enormous power—

not least with their ability to veto aldermanic candidates.

The official view is that since the Lord Mayor is chosen from the aldermen, "it is important that only those suitable for the appointment should be elected and there is a responsibility on those who have to make the election to ensure that suitable candidates appear." That view was put forward last month by Colin Dyer, then chief, commissioner of the corporation.

He defended the role of aldermen, whose powers "are mainly concerned with some aspects of the ancient Corporation and with the Mayorality," but then compared their power with that of the Court of Common Council.

"Aldermen may be very influential people, but with 130 commissioners to 25 Aldermen there is no doubt where the power lies. It lies with the Commissioners."

Dyer concluded that the corporation was an unusual structure, largely because of history, and required an unusual form of government. "The whole thing is unusual, but the important thing is that it works and works well."

That is not the view of critics among the councilmen, one of whom commented: "The situation is getting scandalous. We are no longer peasants living in the 'Middle Ages'."

Nor is it the view of the Greater London Labour Party, whose manifesto for the May GLC election calls for powers to end "the anachronistic anomaly of the City of London."

Christopher Warman

FINANCIAL NEWS

Textile closure hits Hirst & Mallinson

By Rosemary Unsworth
Hirst & Mallinson, the catering, pharmaceuticals group based in Huddersfield, traded profitably, as forecast, in the second half but nevertheless slipped into losses at the year end.

Pretax losses came to £204,000 compared with £295,000 pretax profit while turnover in the year to November 1 was £15m against £18.6m for the previous 53 weeks.

The group's decision to pull out of textile manufacturing was the main reason for the downturn as it was forced to complete loss making contracts and also incurred closedown costs which ran into six figures. More than 350 employees were made redundant.

"The rationalization of this part of the company's business was complete at the year end and it will not be possible for textiles to have a significantly adverse effect either on future profits or liquidity," Mr Michael Crompton, the chairman, said.

Pharmaceutical distribution showed a profit improvement in the last quarter which it has maintained into the current year and catering is performing well in a tough market.

Exports to the Middle East were held back by the war between Iran and Iraq although trade with Africa, including Zambia and Nigeria, improved.

In addition the group has developed a division selling computer-based business systems, derived from its experience in using such machinery in its distribution activities. This move forms part of the policy of reducing group vulnerability to seasonal trends and fashion swings, Mr Crompton said.

Medium-term borrowings were raised to £211,000 while cash deposits increased by a third to £318,000 as plant was sold following closures.

Bank Base Rates

ABN Bank	14%
Barclays	14%
BCCI	14%
Consolidated Credits	14%
C. Hoare & Co.	14%
Lloyds Bank	14%
Midland Bank	14%
Nat Westminister	14%
Rossminster	14%
TSE	14%
Williams and Glyn	14%

* 7 day deposit on basis of £10,000 and under 12% up to £50,000 13% over £50,000 14%.

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The Over-the-Counter Market

Capitalisation £000's	Company	Last Price	Chge Week	Gross Div/yr	Yld %	P/E
3,642	Alpsprung Group	63	+1	6.7	10.6	5.7
1,075	Armstrong & Rhodes	43	+1	4.4	3.3	17.7
15,609	Bardon Hill	190	+1	9.7	5.1	7.1
7,308	Deborah Services	95	+1	5.5	5.8	4.7
1,974	Frank Russell	106	-4	6.4	6.0	3.3
7,363	Frederick Parker	51	-1	11.0	21.6	2.3
1,576	George Blair	74	-1	3.1	4.2	—
2,650	Jacks Group	106	-1	6.9	6.5	4.0
16,562	James Burroughs	120	-1	7.9	6.6	9.8
3,366	Robert Jenkins	330	-1	31.3	9.5	—
2,580	Scrutons "A"	53	-1	5.0	10.0	3.8
3,323	Torday Limited	216	+1	15.1	7.0	3.7
2,511	Twinklark Ord	114	-1	—	—	—
1,966	Twinklark 15% ULS	72	-4	15.0	20.8	—
5,951	Unilock Holdings	39	+2	3.0	7.7	6.0
12,779	Walter Alexander	101	-1	5.7	5.6	5.6
6,138	W. S. Yeates	263	+3	12.3	4.6	4.3

KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

Ministry of Public Health Procurement Division, Rabat

NOTICE OF OPEN INTERNATIONAL TENDER No 24/81

The Ministry of Public Health of the Kingdom of Morocco invites pre-selection tenders from companies for the construction in Casablanca of a University Hospital Centre of around 800 beds to cater for all branches of medicine.

Dilemma for Lloyds over dividend

Lloyds Bank faces a dilemma over how large a final dividend to pay when it announces results on Friday.

An increase of 20 to 25 per cent could be covered, according to profit forecasts, but would be a sensitive issue since pay negotiations are aiming at 13 per cent limits. After the 22 per cent increase at the interim stage, and taking into account the wage settlements, 15 per cent is probably the increase to look for.

The most optimistic profits estimates suggest £294m pretax in the year to December against £276m last time but this will depend largely on the provision for bad debts, which has been forecast at an increase of 150 to 250 per cent. All the same, Lloyds will be one of the few big banks to report increased profits. Barclays, committed to a 20 per cent dividend increase, National Westminster and the Midland all follow shortly with results.

Lloyds' increase will come partly from Lloyds International, which has found success recently by moving out of money markets into loans and has seen a 63 per cent profit rise in the year.

Other companies reporting this week include Dalgery, BOC, Hoover, Birmid Qualeast and Wedgwood. It will be interesting to see how Wedgwood, often considered the bellwether of British exporters, has managed in its third quarter. Forecasts are looking for up to £1m in pretax profits for the quarter when it reports on Wednesday. Christmas buying period in a year that has seen fluctuating results—a poor first quarter of £176,000 pretax followed by a high second quarter of £1.8m.

Although profits are said to have increased 63 per cent of sales by volume, profit margins have been crippled by the strength of sterling. Full year

results are expected to be £4m, compared with £6.2m last time. With borrowings of some £2.5m, Wedgwood is relatively highly geared at 49 per cent.

BOC, reporting on Wednesday its first quarter results, is heading for £15.2m pretax against £12.4m last time. After good results last year, particularly from its South African and Australian subsidiaries, the car market has picked up lately, Birmid will be hit by the continued downturn of demand for trucks and

trucks, and increased competition from abroad.

After profits in the first half of £4.8m, pretax losses for the year are expected to be between £2 and £3m. With exceptional items of some £3m, this will give Birmid a break-even point for the year. Last July Birmid closed six works and factories with the loss of 2,400 jobs. Several plants are on short-time working. Crisis hit Birmid in April, immediately after first half results, and production is not thought to have picked up since October.

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This week

companies, and the Ercs subsidiary in the United States. BOC took a look at its United Kingdom interests which were not doing as well. This led to rationalization in United Kingdom concerns and the closure last year of 12 small businesses. As a result, BOC is hoping for better figures from the United Kingdom this year.

Figures from Hoover on Thursday for the year to December will show both the £1m cost of redundancies carried out last year and the continued pressures from the strong pound. Estimates put pretax profits at about £2m for the year compared with £3 last year. On top of this come exchange losses, which are expected to be similar to last year's total of £1.5m.

Although Hoover has seen the end of the most drastic de-stocking from retailers, it still faces competition from imports. Traditionally, Italian washing machines are its main competitor, but there has been increasing competition from Poland and Spain. Hoover's Australian and South African subsidiaries have continued to perform well. The interim dividend was cut from 5.6p net to 4p and a similar reduction is forecast. It has been suggested by some that the final may be passed.

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Berkeley looks to optimistic future

Berkeley Exploration and Production, the recently floated exploration arm of KCA International, hoping to find commercial quantities of oil and gas under the North Sea and elsewhere, has published its first accounts for the period from September 12, 1979 to December 31, last.

Berkeley was the first public flotation under Stock Exchange Rule 163(3) which covered companies that do not meet all the requirements of those fully listed.

Mr Colin Orr-Ewing, executive chairman, said that: "We started the year as an idea and we have finished the year as a young and vigorous independent company. It has however, yet to make a discovery. But Mr Orr-Ewing argues that Berkeley: "Should retain the appeal of a company which, with a current market capitalization of about £11m, should be highly affected by a substantial North Sea find."

In the North Sea the group will probably drill between one and three wells a year. To ease the expense it will try to share its exposure with several companies or institutions.

To balance North Sea exposure, Berkeley has invested in low-risk exploration in the United States where the pay offs are quick. As forecast in the prospectus, the group has not yet called on shareholders for the balance of 50p on the partly paid shares. But it is anticipated that Berkeley will formally call for the balance early in April. The issue price of the £1 shares, 50p paid, was soon overruled. The shares shot to 128p a year ago. In early dealings, they are now 246p.

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Uncertain climate for S. W. Berisford

The accounts of S. W. Berisford, the international trader involved in merchandising, processing and distributing raw materials, especially sugar and cocoa, come at a time when the group still does not know whether the Monopolies and Mergers Commission will approve its bid for British Sugar Corporation. This was announced as long ago as last May and it was referred on June 3.

In his annual statement, Mr Ephraim Margulies, chairman, pointed out that the Commission has until March 3 to finish its report. He added: "We have so far been given no indication of how soon thereafter the findings will be announced and the report published." The chairman said that the bid was in the interests of everyone "not least, the Government which would have the opportunity in line with stated policy to divest itself of an investment in the private sector."

At present, Berisford has a stock market value of nearly £203m. By contrast, British Sugar is valued at around £156m. The original offer was of three Berisford shares and 383p cash for every four shares in British Sugar.

That bid values British Sugar at just over 231p a share. Today, the share price is 263p. In the interval BSC has strongly resisted Berisford's approach, revealed assets, and hoisted its own profits. Net assets are now 415p a share.

Mr Margulies stressed Berisford's continuing strength which lies in diversity. With one eye presumably on renewal of the struggle for BSC, he gave little away in noting that recession would probably be around for some time. The directors, he said, were as determined as that growth would continue.

[illegible]

Capitalization and week's change

§ Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

(Current market price multiplied by the number of shares in issue for the stock quoted.)

[illegible]

